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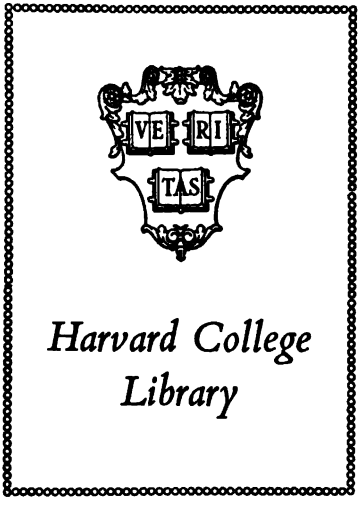

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

HENRY GRATTAN.

VOL. I.

THE RIGHT HONBLE HENRY GRATTAN,

MOVING THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

In the Irish House of Commons

MDCCLXXX.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF THE

RT. HON. HENRY GRATTAN.

BY HIS SON,

HENRY GRATTAN, ESQ., M.P.

Non de Tyranno sed de cive, non de domino sed de Parente loquimur.
C. PLINIUS.

And you, brave Cobham! to the latest breath
Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death,
Such in these moments as in all the past,
"*Oh, save my country, Heaven!*" shall be your last.
POPE.

VOL. I.

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HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
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TO

THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

THESE MEMOIRS

OF

His Father

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THEIR ATTACHED AND

VERY FAITHFUL

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

TO THE READER.

THE following pages do not require any formal Preface or Introduction. They present a sketch of Irish affairs at a most important period; they seek to preserve the record of a great transaction—*the Irish Revolution of* 1782—and to raise in public estimation the character and the services of virtuous and independent men. Mr. Malone, Mr. Pery, Mr. Flood, Doctor Lucas, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Daly, and Lord Charlemont deserve to live in the page of history; and the chief object of the author is to rescue their names from oblivion, and to show their attachment to their country and to liberty.

Of the letters introduced in the work, those that are of a public nature may instruct; those of a private nature may entertain; the official ones may throw some light on the affairs of Ireland; and the whole will afford a useful lesson to politicians.

As the life of a soldier is in the camp, so that of a statesman is in the senate; consequently, most of Mr. Grattan's was passed in public, and

little leisure was afforded for indulgence in private pursuits, and domestic recreation. Accordingly, the various subjects have been intermixed, in order to relieve the reader from the weariness of politics. Many of the letters will be found to abound in useful precepts, and most of them inculcate good morals, sound political principles, and steady patriotism.

Mr. Grattan appears, throughout, ardent and indefatigable; unterrified and enthusiastic in the cause of Ireland. Unawed by the frowns of power, unseduced by the blandishments of a Court, undismayed by the raging of the people, he asserted the principles of liberty, he established them, and he gave to his country a free Constitution.

The author has to thank those individuals who have so kindly supplied him with documents, which he trusts have been used in a manner conducive to the public good; and he takes the liberty of suggesting to his friends the expediency of furnishing him with the *dates* of any other papers that he may in future be honoured with.

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LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY GRATTAN.

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THE history of Mr. Grattan's time comprises nearly all that is valuable in the history of Ireland. Before that period she can scarcely be said to have existed as a nation: with all the rights of one, she had none of the advantages; her struggles for liberty were vain and hopeless, and only

served to confirm the tyranny to which she was doomed to submit.

Before the time of George III. Ireland was a scene of plunder and rapine, insurrection and forfeiture; the people enjoyed neither law nor liberty; one party assumed the character of victors, the other that of victims. The history is shocking, or rather it is no history at all, but a sad tragedy, outraging the name of history. All parties behaved ill: the Irish were bad, but the English were infinitely worse; and whenever the commercial or political interests of the latter clashed, Ireland was made the sufferer. In no country more than in Ireland is the remark of Tacitus so fully exemplified, where he says, "the punishment of mortals is the care of the gods, but not their happiness." It was said, the English kings took away the property of the Irish subjects in order to civilize them; just as conquerors, and sometimes even those who at once usurp and disgrace the name of Christians, use savages, when they rob them of their land, and eventually of their lives, with a view to their *conformity*. In truth, the records of those unhappy times should be publicly consigned to the flames. Written by the conquering party, they palliate all sorts of crime, and inculcate servitude as a duty and a virtue. Even their best historian, Doctor Leland, trembles as he writes;—he is startled at his own facts; he does not find fault with a single vicious

principle;- he praises Lord Strafford, that great public offender, who was guilty of every crime, except the one for which he suffered—high treason, and whose conduct would have justified any proceeding against him except *that*. Lord Strafford had taken from the Irish their liberty, and was taking away their property, (for the Graces* never passed into a law.) He inflicted torture, he punished persons who would not find verdicts for the crown, by boring their tongues through, cutting off their ears, and the remainder of their ears, (Commons' Journal, vol. i.) In short, he violated all law, moral and divine. Yet this is the man whom Dr. Leland praises; and of the parliament that assisted in bringing him to the

* See Appendix, for King Charles' Letter, confirming the "*Graces.*" They resembled the English petition of right, but were more conversant in private matters; they secured the property of the subject from the claims of the crown, and the person of the subject from the oppression of the government. The error committed here was similar to that in 1783 respecting the Act of Renunciation, (of which mention will be made hereafter.) The Irish had a common-law title to their estates, yet they did not rest upon that, but chose to hold under a British statute, and took out patents to their estates in the time of Elizabeth; these patents were not enrolled. Charles the First took advantage of the omission, and proceeded to seize the lands in the west of Ireland, fining and confining the juries who did not return verdicts for the crown. The people complained that the "Graces" were not passed into a law; the king promised to confirm them. Strafford "*took upon himself the breach of the royal word;*" and shortly after the king, as well as Strafford, lost his head, and the people their estates.

block, he says, "On the whole, they were more to be commended than censured;" wholly forgetting the spirit they displayed in various proceedings, the graces, their protestation, the three instruments, their deputation to England, and their resolution of the 26th July, 1641, when they unanimously voted, "That the subjects of his majesty's kingdom were a free people, and to be governed only according to the common law of England, and statutes made and established by parliament in the kingdom of Ireland, and *according to the lawful custom used in the same.*"*

The Rebellion of 1641, was, no douht, in its plan, bloody, in its execution, weak and timid, and in its motives, though natural, not religious. The violence of that period was not a cause, but an effect—the consequence of Lord Strafford's government, and a reply to it. But to explain this, it is necessary to go far back; and in doing so we shall find a continued system of bad Government:—a religion forced upon the people—violence and oppression on the part of the governors—and the consummation of the system taking place under Lord Strafford, who told them "they were a conquered people and that their charters were void." The reply to this latter insult was natural:—"*We consider you as conquerors, and we shall try to banish you.*" In fact there existed neither liberty, nor the spirit of liberty; and the proceedings of the

* See Appendix for the Constitutional Acts of this Parliament.

times show that the English system of government failed, and that it was such as to render the people unfit for any government or any law.

The two treaties—that of 1646 and of 1648—were not observed either by the government or the people. The Lords Justices themselves were in rebellion; their object was to obtain forfeitures; they obeyed no law. The Pope himself had the most power; and all this brought on the only government the country could bear—namely, that of Cromwell and the sword. The result was horrible confusion, where barbarous art and still more barbarous nature, were acting in fury against each other, to their common destruction, and ultimately, to the destruction of the country and the constitution.

Doctor Leland states the atrocities of this time, but does not dare to indulge in the indignation which they call for. In his Reign of James I., he gives his narrative a subdued colouring, and a complexion of modest sarcasm, and the circumstances he narrates prove the tyrannical ascendancy of past times, and his fears of the present. He misleads his readers, and smooths down the crimes and violations committed in Ireland, till his works tend to recommend slavery, and would seem to be those of a court historian, writing the history of a wretched province for pay and promotion.

In later times it is still worse, for the courtier and the ministers became not only evidences, but

annalists of Ireland's shame and misery; and after having voted obsequiously and corruptly, and argued fallaciously, they performed the third and last act of mischief towards their country, by becoming her defamers under the title of her historians. Such were the labours of Dr. Duigenan, Sir Richard Musgrave, and even the historical speeches of Lord Clare.

In the early history of Ireland there was no body that represented the sense of the nation. The people were divided into the settlers, who enjoyed the English law, and the Irish, who adhered to the Brehon law. The former enjoyed the liberties and the privileges, and the latter exercised the government; and both assisted in excluding English supremacy,—the settlers by the liberty that was granted, and the natives by the dominion they exercised; so that the idea of Ireland being a conquered country,—which was contended for, and which Lord Strafford advanced in his speech to the city of Dublin,—did not hold good, because the Irish anticipated this by acquiescence and compact.

A Parliament was holden at Lismore in the time of Henry II. Matthew Paris, the historian, speaks of it, and Cambrensis was present at it. But from this commencement until the time of James I., Irish history is little or nothing worth: at the last-named period, however, it begins to be interesting. Elizabeth divided the country into shires; she

erected seventeen counties, and generalized Parliament, though she did not assemble it. James I. did, but he counteracted what Elizabeth had done. He erected forty boroughs, and narrowed the representation by giving it to individuals; so that he destroyed the constitution at its very birth; it was no sooner created than it was annihilated.

* Sir John Davies says, that James was the first who called a free Parliament. This is partly true; but it is true only with a view to the concealment of what was false; for James really destroyed the freedom of Parliament; he disapproved of the system of government, and thought that the Irish should be governed by English law, but not by the English constitution. In fact nothing could be worse than the conduct of the family in favour of whom Sir John Davies wrote,—the Stuarts, that most faithless race,—the first of whom was a coxcomb, the second (James) a bigot and a coward; while the first Charles was treacherous and insincere, and the second Charles was not only a tyrant, but a tyrant in the pay of the enemies of England: moreover, in politics he was a Catholic, and in religion a deist.

Ireland was ill treated by them all; and her government must have been a bad one indeed,

* His errors are fully exposed in a work entitled "Essay on the Antiquity and Constitution of Parliament in Ireland." By H. J. M. Mason. Dublin, 1820.

when it did not afford a single penal example; for though Ireland arraigned Strafford, he died for his crimes against England.

Hume, when he states that the Irish "from the beginning of time were buried in profound barbarism and ignorance, and continued (while the western world grew civilized) distinguished by vices alone," only discovers his prejudices and want of research, and misleads his readers. Did he forget that in 1417, at the Council of Constance, when the legate of Henry V. of England and of Charles VI. of France disputed the precedency, the preference was allowed to England, entirely on account of the antiquity of Ireland? The argument on which the contest was decided, was taken from the authority of Albertus Magnus and Bartholomæus, and is in these words:—

"In the division of the world, Europe was subdivided into four great kingdoms, 1, That of Rome—2, That of Constantinople—3, That of Ireland—4, That of Spain—whence it appears that the King of England, being also King of Ireland, is one of the most ancient Kings of Europe."

It appears therefore that Ireland had, among other kingdoms of Europe, all the weight and dignity of a respectable and free nation, long before its connection with England.

In his apology for the house of Stuart, Hume exacts less morality from a prince than from a

subject. Murder with him is lost in despotism, and he is a slave to kings instead of a bold historian, who should not fear to punish the tyrant and pursue him with the severity of history, and thus render that tribute of punishment which is due to posterity. When a historian records a bad act, and makes no comment on it, his fault is more than a negative one: he not merely encourages, he *inculcates* servility. When Hume wrote the reign of the Tudors and the Stuarts in Ireland, and neglected to express the indignation which the events of those reigns demand, he proved himself a dishonest historian. Such writers do great public mischief: they rob the Almighty of his noblest attribute—justice, and take from man the infamy that should follow a bad character.

Sir John Davies, whose work is referred to as authority, affords a melancholy proof of the perversion of truth, to flatter James, and serve his interests. He came to Ireland to assist him in his efforts to destroy the constitution; and in praising the act of that pedantic prince, in creating forty boroughs, he attacks the Parliamentary constitution of Ireland, and denies that she has had any distinct Legislature for 140 years after Henry II.; whereas the records of Ireland show the very reverse—namely, a statute passed in the second of Richard III., reciting another statute of Henry II., containing a Parliamentary legislative enactment, arranging the Government of the country.

In Rymer's Fœdera, will be found a writ to convene an Irish Parliament in the thirty-eighth Henry III., A.D., 1253; and there is a statute of that year still extant on the roll, which will be found in Bermingham Tower, in the Black Book of Christ-Church, Dublin. There is also an Act of a Parliament of Edward I., and the list of the members appears in the history of Sir Richard Cox; and lastly, Sir Richard Bolton, the chief Baron, the cotemporary of Sir John Davies (then Attorney-general), published an edition of Irish statutes in 1621, and recites an Act of the third of Henry II., which is prior to the period stated by Sir John Davies, as the commencement of Irish legislation.

It would seem strange that the Chief Baron should know what the Attorney-general was ignorant of. But our surprise will cease when we reflect that every effort was made to spoliate and misrepresent every Irish record, and the trace of every thing creditable to Ireland; and when we find that one of the ablest writers and most independent men (Molyneux) was persecuted for his efforts in her cause, and his works burned by orders of the House of Commons, by the hands of the common hangman; when in later times, we find Swift's writings in defence of Irish trade, and manufactures proscribed; and later still, when a more humble but strenuous champion for her rights (Dr. Lucas) was, for his exertions on her behalf,

banished from Ireland by vote of the House of Commons, his works prosecuted as libels, and he himself declared to be an enemy to his country: when these things are called to mind, few men will be found to attempt the labour of writing Irish history, and fewer still will perform it well. Few men will take the pains, and fewer will possess the spirit. It requires an excess of indignation to be an Irish historian; in addition to which, the heart must be bold, and the hand fearless, that will venture to tell the truth.

In addition to these disadvantages, the early history of Ireland, when her piety and learning were remarkable, is lost in the greatness of its distance and its antiquity. Her historical records, like her castles and her forests, were for the most part mutilated or destroyed, so that few vestiges of them can be found.* As a proof of this, it is remarkable, that besides the twenty-three Acts passed in the time of Henry VII., and printed in our statutes, there were two others recorded in the Rolls Office.

1st, That the Church of Ireland shall be free and enjoy all its accustomed liberties.

2nd, That the land of Ireland shall hereafter enjoy all its franchises and privileges as it used to do before.

* Sir John Perrott in his "Letter of Advice on the subject of Ireland," asks that 6000*l.* should be granted to cut down the five great woods in the west of Ireland.

This also formed a ground of complaint in the third Instrument, as it was then termed, agreed on by the House of Commons in Ireland, May, 1641, to be presented to the King:

"That the records of the kingdom touching the just rights and liberties of the people were embezzled and destroyed, and divers of them brought into England."

Ireland's history, too, had no connexion with the politics of other countries, and exercised no influence upon them. The disputes in which Ireland was involved were chiefly with England, and in these she displayed little skill, either military or political; none indeed in the time of Henry II. or Elizabeth, or Charles I., nor until the time of William III., and then only on one side, when the Irish people followed the fortunes of a miserable prince, belonging to an execrable race, destitute of every sense of courage, liberty, or religion. The only two good acts of the life of this prince (except his abdication) were the result of necessity; they were extorted by the Irish in the moment of his panic, and were obtained too late to be of any service; and even these measures, to which James II. contributed, lie buried in oblivion. The books that transmitted them to posterity were for the most part suppressed; yet they deserve to be recorded, for they restored to Ireland her independence. James was supported by a great body of Catholics, who, though they were

called rebels, were not slaves, for they obtained a constitution before they accompanied him to the field; and there was principle in their conduct, though perhaps not policy.

In the parliament held in Dublin, two acts were passed that gave, granted, and secured to Ireland a free and independent constitution,—destroyed the British supremacy—abolished the appeals to England,—established a limited monarchy, and a British form of government. All this too was obtained by Papists, (as they were termed,) and extorted from a Catholic King, by men who would not rest content with Popery, but demanded freedom. The account of this appears in a work entitled "Proceedings of the Parliament in Ireland, beginning March 25, 1689, and ending June following.—London, 1689." Library British Museum.

"The Parliament of the late King James met in Dublin, the 25th March, 1689, at the Inns. On the 8th of May, the King came to the house, and on the 14th two bills were brought from the Commons against writs of error and appeals to England, and that an Act of Parliament in England, should not bind Ireland. James was present and supported them. A bill brought in on the 13th, by Chief Justice Nugent, to repeal the act of Settlement, was rejected on the second reading. Such was the liberal disposition of that parliament." Thirty-five bills were passed, several of a liberal character. An act for liberty of conscience, and

for repealing all acts or clauses in any Act of Parliament inconsistent with the same. An act concerning martial law. An act to annul and make void all patents of offices for life. An act declaring that the Parliament of England cannot bind Ireland, and against writs of error and appeals to be brought for removing judgments, decrees, and sentences given in Ireland into England. An act regarding absentees. An act concerning tithes. An act of recognition. An act to repeal Poyning's laws. The minutes of the House of Commons, June 21st, state, with respect to this bill, "the report for repealing Poyning's statutes was read, and told us the king would have a clause that he and his heirs should have the bill first agreed to by him and his council, before they should pass the Commons, and it's ordered to be printed, and the house inclined to be as free as the parliament of England."

An act of King William, passed by the English parliament, rendered void all these laws; but seven years afterwards it was thought necessary, by the advice of the English privy council, that this act should be ratified in Ireland, as the validity of an English statute to bind Ireland was doubtful.*

* An act was passed in Ireland, prohibiting them under severe penalties, and they were all ordered to be burned by order of the English House of Commons, in Old Palace-yard; the Sergeant-at-Arms and Sheriffs of London and Middlesex assisting at the obsequies.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, that when the Catholics were in parliament in the time of Charles I. they asserted the liberties of Ireland; when they were in parliament in the time of James II. they established her liberties; and when they were excluded from parliament, the country lost her trade, her independence, and, ultimately, her constitution. In 1641, they made a struggle for her freedom; their Declaration of Right asserted the liberties of Ireland; their queries to the judges were in favour of her liberties; most of these queries the judges did not wish to answer; many of them they would not answer; and some they did answer favourably to the rights of Ireland.

How visibly does the justice of Providence appear in this sad history of persecution! for every act of violence was followed by corresponding punishment. In the time of Charles II. they persecuted and excluded the Catholics from parliament;—the supplies were voted for ever, and parliament became extinct. In the time of William III. they enacted a penal code, and this was followed by the loss of commerce. In the time of Anne and George came more penal laws, which were followed by the loss of independence. After 1782 the government rejected Catholic emancipation. What followed? An insurrection and a union.

Prior to the period of 1782 the Catholics always

demanded freedom from England, and the Protestant dependency,—the necessary result of a colonial state. The aristocracy were a low-spirited race,—a body of British planters, who still clung to the mother-country which they had left, and did not yet amalgamate with the new soil in which they had not taken root, and to secure their property they made a sacrifice of their freedom.

In the time of Edward I. the Irish demanded the benefits of the British law. In the time of Charles the Irish asked for the repeal of Poyning's law, and an independent parliament. Even Sir John Davies, in his treatise; impliedly admits this, when he states that the Irish always expressed their desire for equal law and equal justice; and this, he says, as contra-distinguished from the colonists, who did not incorporate with the natives, and the tenure of whose property was not founded on law or justice. Sir John Perrott, who was president of Munster in the time of Elizabeth, says, "they love to be justly dealt with, howsoever they deal with one another, and will do more at the command of their governor whom they repute, and have found to be just, than by the strict execution of the laws, or the constraint of any force or power—they are for the most part naturally wise and apt to observe the least advantage or opportunity." Such is the testimony of the historian their governor. It must, however, be admitted, that they fell into some capital errors.

But their conduct, though ill advised, was natural. When they offered the crown to the Duke of Lorraine, in the time of Charles I., and when they sought for French connexion in 1797, they fell into an irretrievable error, and adopted a course, desperate in itself, and certain not to be forgiven by England; for if there was a principle more necessary than any other to be observed by all parties in Ireland, that principle was, to keep clear of foreign connexion. There might indeed be occasions in which Ireland ought to meet England in the field; (the example which Runnymede and James II. have furnished, can never be forgotten by a people who seek to be free); and England would forgive the principle of the one, though perhaps not the effect. But the other must put an end to all reconciliation. When the Irish called in the aid of a foreign power, they determined upon separation; and though America may be adduced as an instance in favour of Ireland, it must be admitted that when America called in aid from France, she had determined to separate from England,—prompted thereto by her distance and her size, which rendered her less afraid of the power of France. But in the case of Ireland it was different: when she had made her election, it was slavery either to France or to England.* This frustrated all her hopes in the

* How wise was the advice of Swift:—"Do nothing but refuse their

time of Charles I. and her victory over Strafford. It was this that drew down upon her the visitations of Cromwell.* It was this that ruined her in 1798, and brought down upon her the fury of Lord Clare's government, subjecting her to free quarter, flagellation, and torture. It was this led to the union, and the extinction of her parliamentary independence.

The reign of George III. comprises the rise and fall of the Irish nation. Its analysis is short. George III. commenced his reign with all the frivolity of a Stuart, and the inelegant obstinacy of a gross Prince of the House of Hanover. He had no exalted virtue, no great vice, but low intrigue, ceremonious piety, real profound insincerity, and a mind that shrunk from the view. Though not without ordinary understanding, his education, like that of most princes, was the worst imaginable: a system of prudery in religion, and partiality in politics; a love of innovation, without talents of enterprize; a thirst of absolute power, with a thousand disqualifications for command. Brought up in a splenetic court, he carried its re-

half-pence. You have a lawful mode of resistance;—adopt it and you succeed." Another and a more humorous piece of advice in reference to the defence of Irish manufactures was, "*Burn* every thing except their coals."

* After the capture and sacking of Drogheda by Cromwell, and three days' licence to his soldiery, when neither age nor sex were spared, the English House of Commons returned thanks to the Almighty for the services there performed.

sentments to the throne, and like all narrow minds, was fond of power, and liable to slavery. Unengaging to his people, yet benign to his favourites, he sought not real merit, and cultivated few able ministers. He never conceived any expansive views of the empire, but shrunk at the outset from his high station in Europe. He preferred men for their obsequiousness, and risked all for his palace, and nothing for Great Britain.

George III. was not, however, without private virtues, an attention to decorum, and a great respect to the appearance of religion. But these were virtues of too domestic a nature to procure any public good, and too humble to tempt any private imitation: unhappily too, the propriety of this family character was but ill considered, when the servants nearest the King were not the most correct nor the most elevated men in England, and when the instrument of his government was the corruption of his subjects. He was, in fact, an insincere and unworthy character, formed by a woman, and, like a woman, powerful only in tears.

From this best of kings, as they called him, men of reputation fled, and deserted the scheme of his government, until he supplicated and wept them to return into his service. It was a reign of mean appeal to domestic reputation; of ceremonious devotion; of partiality and corruption; of slavery

and ignorance, in government. The empire was lost when the king was in possession of his senses; it was recovered only when he was deprived of them.

The principle of rule in this reign was absolute power. George III. began by turning out Lord Chatham, and the old ministers, and introducing Lord Bute, a minister subservient to his will. He concluded a bad peace, and then commenced a war with an individual (Mr. Wilkes), in which contest he invaded the liberty of the press, the rights of election, and the privileges of Parliament. The same principle led him to attack the liberties of the people; and from the attack on the constitution of his own country, he proceeded to an attack on the freedom of another. He proposed taxation without Representation; and he commenced a war to enforce that bad principle, in which he lost two armies, 130,000,000*l.*, and his empire in America. From this resistance sprung the French revolution.

George III. here engaged in another contest, in which, after four coalitions, and many fruitless expeditions, after immense loss of men and money, he was beaten out of Europe, as he was before beaten out of America, and he was forced to contend for existence alone. He seemed to choose his ministers with a view to their capacities for failure: —Lord North lost him America; Mr. Pitt lost him

Europe; and if he had lived, Mr. Percival would have lost him England; but it was saved by the Duke of Wellington—an Irishman.

And how did George III. act towards Ireland? Still worse than towards England; for to tyranny was added treachery. He commenced by introducing a money bill, which was contrary to the law of the land. By creating a number of places, and by corruption, he destroyed the aristocracy of the country. He succeeded in detaching the leading men from their party, and attaching them to his government. He laid an embargo on Irish trade, contrary to law; in fact, he was as great an enemy to the commerce of Ireland as to her constitution. He persuaded the Parliament to support the American war, he augmented the army in order to assist in that war; he drew that army from Ireland, and though he had declared to the House of Commons in the preamble to the money bill, that the country should never be left without an army of twelve thousand, he left it without five thousand, and exposed it defenceless to the attacks of the enemy. By this conduct he excited the indignation of the people; they were obliged to arm in their own defence; and they demanded, and through terror obtained, a free trade, and a free constitution:—acts which were falsely attributed to the kindness of the King; for they were extorted, not granted. Afterwards

he returned to his own ministers, who adopted measures of the greatest violence; they proceeded to a system of vapulation and explosion; they flogged and tortured, and by these means, *they spread*, at least, if *not created*, a rebellion. They then, in the moment of its weakness, robbed the country of that constitution which had before been so solemnly granted.

Such is the history of the reign of George the Third.

It is true that great concessions were made, and great rights obtained, for the people of Ireland, both as to civil and religious liberty. But of how little avail are wholesome laws, when administered by those who are inimical to them! In the custody of such an administrator, those laws become, like those ministers, not privileges, but grievances.

It happened that in the early part of last century, the state of Ireland, though without freedom, was supportable, because the mildness of the government corrected the vices of her constitution. But in the latter part of the century, the state of the country, with legal freedom, was anxious and discontented; because, in addition to French intrigue, a bad administration struggled to *correct* the *virtues* of her constitution. In a weak country, as far as relates to liberty and tranquillity, a good government may counteract a bad constitution; but a good constitution will not counteract a bad government — though it may overthrow it.

There was, in the early times referred to, only an absence of liberty and of toleration; but in the latter time, there was, on the part of the ministers of the crown, a conspiracy against both. Ireland succeeded to the rights of Parliament, but was withheld the exercise of those rights; she acquired an independent Parliament, but no actual independency. The system was,—if any resist, *buy them*, or if any opportunity occur, *banish them*. The people acceded to the Catholic qualification bill for office and franchise; but they got no office and no corporate franchise. The system was,—abuse them, and exclude them.

It certainly was inauspicious to the happy as well as tranquillising effects of the measures here alluded to, that the ministers should have hated both the laws and the people. Can it be imagined that the ministry ever loved that people? Can it be conceived that before the Insurrection of 1798, at any time, or under any circumstances, they could desire the welfare of a country which under any circumstances they could so outrage? Can any one believe that a government bestowed a succession of benefits in peace, whose conduct was even too outrageous for a state of war?

So much for their love of the people. What can be said for their love of law? Their minister (Lord Clare) expressed his aversion to that "miserable infirmity," as he called it, their constitution; and his colleague, the Duke of Portland, was

stated to have plotted its destruction with a Scotch gentleman (Mr. Ogilvie), at the time he was returning thanks to Heaven for its establishment. The Lord Chancellor, less devout, was much more frank and free; so much so, that, judging from his various publications and conduct, it might be doubted whether the rebel most hated the state, or the minister the country. With such a minister at the head of the law, and such a minister at the head of the state, (Dr. Duigenan had not yet been called to the head of the church,) one may well doubt the veracity of that assertion which maintained that the reign of George III. was a succession of benefits.

But it is necessary to go cursorily into detail, to show how these popular measures were rejected, how they were granted, and how they were eluded. The party so inimical to the people had rejected the repeal of Poyning's law twice; a limited mutiny bill three times; the Irish claim of right three times; the Catholic bill, the place bill, the pension bill, were all repeatedly rejected, with volumes of abuse; nor were they granted until after great and signal calamities:—the American war—the loss of two armies—the loss of the Colonies—Jemappes—Dumourier—the dread of Jacobinism—the danger of Holland—the unprepared state of his Majesty's forces;—and according as the panic ceased, the grant was eluded, and, on the first opportunity, revoked, frustrated,

and demolished. In fact, this history may be reduced to a sentence: —"The English government, in her strength, destroyed the Irish constitution; in her weakness, she restored it; and on her recovery she took it back again."

The Irish got, in 1782, a repeal of the sixth of George I. and were not satisfied; they got a pension bill, and were not satisfied; they got a place bill, and were not satisfied. But the reason was this:—the people were deprived of the benefits of these bills (the acquisition of honest exertion) by the very men who had first opposed and then rendered them abortive. In fact, the use made of the repeal of the sixth of George I. in 1782, was to buy the Houses of Parliament in 1789: and the use made of the place bill was to banish the Parliament in 1800. They did not seek to purify or to model Parliament; but, in order to banish and transport Parliament, the ministers intruded sixty trusty men into the House of Commons in 1800, to vote the Commons out of the realm.

These were some, and very natural reasons why the Irish were not satisfied; just like the English under the Stuarts. The English people in the reign of Charles I. acquired a great many things: —their petition of right was granted— tonnage and poundage and forced loans were abolished. In the reign of Charles II. their constitution had, according to a great legal autho-

rity, arrived at the model of perfection; yet they were dissatisfied, and their dissatisfaction increased, until it went so far as to behead their king, because he violated his own promises, and broke his own laws.

But in the instance of the Irish, there was this additional provocation—that they beheld their ministers *not executed*, but *honoured*, and the ministers, like their laws, became public grievances; so that Ireland was deprived of the blessing, and England of the gratitude. Mr. Pitt had declared, in one of his speeches, that the policy formerly observed towards Ireland had been entirely illiberal. Yet that policy was not altered until the twentieth year of the reign of George III. and then but for a short time. Mr. Pitt's colleague likewise, (the Duke of Portland,) declared in 1795, that the system which was pursued with regard to Ireland was execrable, and that he took office chiefly to correct it. He made this declaration in 1759, and the system continued long after, with much aggravation, and with his concurrence. It was however said on the other side that this was all irritation, excited by individuals, and in particular by the leaders of the opposition: just as if, without being told them, the people would not know the facts! as if acts of Parliament were state secrets! The pensions,—to whom they were given; the peers,—how they were created; the judges and the bishops,—how they

came on the bench :—as if all these things were secret! Lord Clare's extenuation of the torture—the gentleman whose bowels were whipped out—he was one of the *arcana imperii!* The knowledge of these things was "irritation!" Would silence on these things have been less so? What, forsooth, were the Irish to be thankful for? Was it for the constitution of 1782? or for its abolition? or was it for the means whereby the union was effected? Were they to kiss the *delicate* hands of a young minister who was called to the *cat-o'-nine-tails*, just fresh from drinking* success to the republican constitution of France, and brought to work the destruction of the Parliament of Ireland.

In short, every one must admit that England governed Ireland as a tyrant. Perhaps all countries, and all great public bodies, are tyrants. They have no fear of censure, and they do not hear or feel their own disgrace. They have no fear of punishment, and not always a fear of the Deity; so that there is and can be no immediate check over them. No man—at least no Irishman—can read the history of Ireland, or hear the account of England's treatment of the Irish, without exasperation—without his blood boiling within him. We cannot wonder that the Irish people, at these various critical periods of their history, did not look up to any one, for they were cheated almost

* Lord Castlereagh was, at its origin, a member of the Society of United Irishmen, and drank the republican toasts of the day.

by every body. They have still, however to look up to the principles which honest statesmen have acted on—which their own truest patriots have held by—which the country has tried;—those of a free constitution, and a limited monarchy. "Liberty with England—if England is so disposed, but at all events—Liberty."*

* Words of Mr. Grattan, in 1782.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Grattan.—Birth and Family.—Connexion with Dean Swift.—Letter to Lord-Lieutenant: and remarks on the Grattans.—Female Branch of the Marlays.—Sir John Marlay.—Fidelity to Charles I.—His grandson Chief Justice of Ireland.—Acquaintance with Lord Chesterfield.—Letter from Sons of the Chief Justice.—Bishop of Waterford and Colonel Marlay—their attachment to Ireland.—Intimacy of the latter with Mr. Grattan.—Mr. Grattan's education in Dublin.—Enters College.—His Contemporaries.—Letters to his friend Broome,—August 1765, June 1766.—Death of his Father.—1767 goes to the Middle Temple.—Letters to Broome, November, 1767.—Death of his Sister.—Letter to Broome, January, 1768.—Goes to Windsor Forest, February, 1768.—His love for the country.—Anecdote relating thereto.—Remarks on Mr. Hutchinson.—Letter to Robert Day, March, 1768.—To Broome, March, 1768.—To Day, May, 1768.—Acquaintance with Fitzgibbon.—Letter to Broome, May 1768.—Debates in the English Parliament—Remarks on Burke—on Grenville—on Macaulay Boyd.—Letter to Broome, August, 1768.—Remarks on English Historians, Clarendon, Burnet, and Bolingbroke.

THE date of Mr. Grattan's birth is indicated by the following entry in the registry of baptism in St. John's parish, Dublin :—" Henry, son of James and Mary Grattan, 3rd of July, 1746." His father was for many years recorder of, and member for, the city of Dublin ; he was elected to the latter situation in 1761, and served till 1766, when he died. His official station he discharged with

great honesty and diligence. He was the legal adviser of the corporation, and proposed some laws regarding them, but which were in their nature narrow and arbitrary. His personal character was respected; he was well read in law, and his opinions were held to be sound. His principles were aristocratic. He fancied himself a Whig in politics, but he was in fact a Tory. His sentiments on Poyning's law, and on the pension bill—questions which at that time occupied the public mind —were of a courtly nature; and on the subject of the octennial bill he differed from the popular party, and from Dr. Lucas, who was his colleague and his opponent, and with whom he was in perpetual collision, the Recorder being the legal adviser and champion of the corporation, and Dr. Lucas their untired, undaunted, and unceasing enemy.

To the Recorder, who was a bad speaker, irritable in his temper, and deficient in powers of argument, Dr. Lucas was a source of great annoyance, for he had the people on his side; which, in a capital city, the seat of legislature, had considerable weight, both within and without the doors of the House of Commons: and though inferior to his colleague in sound understanding, yet, by his popular principles, joined to an easy temper and an engaging deportment, he gained a seeming victory over his adversary. These petty contests were suffered to prey upon

a mind over anxious and very sensitive, so as to embitter, if not to shorten, the remainder of the Recorder's days.

Patrick Grattan, the great-grand-father of Henry, was senior fellow of the University, near Dublin, and in 1669 married a Miss Brereton, whose family resided within a few miles of that city, and who enjoyed in the county of Cavan a portion of the forfeited lands held by patent from Charles II. Of this marriage there were several children, the eldest of whom, Henry, succeeded to his father's property in that county. He intermarried with the family of the Flemyngs, and was said to have had considerable influence there. He was small in stature, but remarkably well made, and possessed of great spirit. His name is still remembered, and it is related of him that "he was the stoutest and shortest man, who wore the longest sword."

The individual just referred to was very active in pursuing the Tories and Rapparees, who were outlawed, and were then infesting the neighbourhood. His residence was at Garryross, adjoining the Lake Virginia, and not far from Quilca, the seat of Dr. Sheridan, where Dean Swift used to resort, and where originated the intimacy that subsisted between the Dean and the Grattan family. But the Dean's more intimate friends were James, a doctor of physic, John, a clergyman,

Charles, whom he calls "the Critic," master of the school at Enniskillen, and Richard, who was knighted, and Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1735.

In a letter to Dr. Sheridan, dated September in that year, (1735,) the Dean, writes—"Yesterday was the going out of the last Lord Mayor, and to-day is the coming in of the new, who is Alderman Grattan? The Duke (Dorset) was at both, but I thought it enough to go to-day, and I came away before six, with very little meat or drink."

The regard the Dean of St. Patrick's entertained for this family appears in his letters to the Duke of Dorset (then Lord Lieutenant), Lady Betty Germain, Dr. Sheridan, and Mr. Charles Ford. In a letter to Lady Betty Germain, (1736,) he writes—"I went and told my Lord Duke that there was a certain family here called the Grattans, and that they could command ten thousand men. Two of them are parsons (as you Whigs call them); another is Lord Mayor of this city, and was knighted by his Grace a month or two ago; but there is a cousin of theirs who is a Grattan, though his name be John Jackson, as worthy a clergyman as any in this kingdom."

Again, in a letter to the Duke of Dorset, he writes in the following jocose style:—

Dublin, Dec. 30, 1735.

My Lord,

Your Grace fairly owes me one hundred and ten pounds a-year in the church, which I thus prove: I desired you

would bestow a preferment of one hundred and fifty pounds a-year to a certain clergyman. Your answer was, that I asked modestly; that you would not promise, but grant my request. However, for want of good intelligence in being (after a cant word used here) an expert *kingfisher*, that clergyman took up with forty pounds a-year, and I shall never trouble your Grace any more on his behalf. Now by plain arithmetic it follows that one hundred and ten pounds remain, and this arrear I have assigned to one Mr. John Jackson, a cousin german of the Grattans, who is vicar of Santry, and has a small estate, with two sons and as many daughters, all grown up. He has lain some years as a weight upon me, which I voluntarily took up on account of his virtue, piety, and good sense, and modesty almost to a fault. Mr. Jackson is condemned to live on his own small estate, part whereof is in his parish about four miles from hence, where he has built a family house more expensive than he intended. He is a clergyman of long standing, and of a most unblemished character, but the misfortune is, he has not one enemy to whom I might appeal for the truth of what I say."

It does not appear that the Dean was successful in this application; but Mr. Jackson's relations evinced their sense of his merit, and left his family legacies to a considerable amount.

The female branch from which Mr. Grattan is descended was of the Marlay family, of French extraction.* The family of De Merly came over with William the Conqueror. Mr. Grattan's mother was Mary Marlay, daughter of Thomas,

* See Dugdale, and Brooks' Baronetage.

(Chief Justice of Ireland,) who was grandson of Sir John Marlay, one of the Royalists in 1640. The latter took an active part in the civil wars in England, and was mayor of Newcastle—which town he held for the king against the parliamentary army. Being summoned by the Earl of Leven, who commanded the Scottish army, October, 1644, he replied he would not betray his trust, or forfeit his allegiance or his honour, and that he would hazard his life and fortune in the cause. The town was taken by storm, and the resistance he made was so spirited, that he nearly fell a victim to the fury and exasperation of the enemy. The General was obliged to place a guard of soldiers at his house to protect him. He was returned in the list of the principal persons to be sent to London to stand their trial, and is termed " that atheistical mayor and governor of the town, a most pestilent and desperate malignant, and enemy to all goodness." Such was the fanaticism of the times! He was known by the appellation of the rich knight; but he lost three sons, and all his fortune, and was excepted out of the act of amnesty by Cromwell. However he stipulated that his life should be spared, and so far succeeded in making terms with the Usurper. Afterwards, when Charles II. was restored, ancient services, as is too often the case with most princes, were forgotten, and his family remained unrewarded.

Sir John Marlay's son, Anthony, was appointed

captain in the Duke of Ormond's regiment in Ireland, in the year 1677. On his voyage thither, with his regiment, he was attacked by a French vessel, when lying ill in his hammock, unable to do duty. But he caused himself to be raised up, and carried to the head of his men, they succeeded in driving off the French assailant; and on his descending from the deck he found that a cannon ball had gone through his hammock! This may be recorded as a striking instance of good fortune attending the performance of an act of duty.

Thomas, grandson of the above, was appointed Solicitor-General in 1725; he afterwards became Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and lastly Chief Justice of Ireland. He was a man of learning and of taste, of considerable talent, high integrity, and possessed a strong sense of humour. He was also a man of great personal courage, and a very expert swordsman. Being attacked once, coming out of a coffee-house with a party of his friends, he was obliged to fight his way. He wore a long sword, on which was stamped the twelve apostles; possibly it was an heir-loom in the family, from the period of Charles and Cromwell. He ran his opponent through the body; but the individual recovered, and meeting the judge a long time after, he observed that his lordship did not know he was the person whom he had run through the body. The judge replied that "he had got the benefit of

the trial by jury, and *the twelve* allowed him to escape."

This personage was not a great lawyer. He had been educated in England, and his mind was perfectly English. He was more of an English Whig, than an Irish patriot. He had been kept in the back-ground in the reign of Queen Anne; but rose quickly under George I. Obliged to administer a code of laws the most oppressive and tyrannical, he yet conducted himself with high principle, and acknowledged justice; though he was far from escaping censure; and Dr. Lucas in his writings, attacks him for his charge in 1750 to the Grand Jury of Dublin, who had presented several of the works of that bold and spirited victim of oppression. Dr. Lucas was mistaken in this; inasmuch as the House of Commons had directed the prosecution. Nothing could excuse their conduct; and if any palliation existed for that of the Chief Justice, in giving in charge those writings which defended liberty and laid the first groundwork of Irish freedom, it was to be found in the temper of the times, as well as in the habit of studying and enforcing principles that were arbitrary and tyrannical.

Notwithstanding the disadvantages of a provincial education, the Judge possessed some good Irish feeling, a quality in those days not of frequent occurrence. On one occasion, it became necessary to apply for an act of parliament to enable him to dispose of some of his property; and

strange to say it was much less expensive, and easier to obtain it, in England than in Ireland. He was advised, therefore, to apply to the British Parliament; but he refused, — declaring that it would be a lasting reflection on an Irishman to apply for a British act to regulate property in Ireland. Such was the sentiment that, in later and more auspicious times, influenced his illustrious descendant, and communicated itself from the breast of Henry Grattan, till it embraced, in 1782, the entire population of the kindom.

The Judge was in habits of intimacy with Lord Chesterfield, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who greatly valued his friendship, and on leaving Ireland, he addressed the following letter to the Chief Justice. The humor and morality are quite characteristic of that celebrated personage.

LORD CHESTERFIELD TO LORD CHIEF JUSTICE MARLAY.

London, January 1, 1747.

My Lord,

The favour of your letter gave me a pleasure which none but those who love and honour you as I do would feel as I did; and though I am conscious that I do not deserve the kind things you say, I am sincere enough to own that I am extremely pleased with your saying them. To love flattery in general, and indifferently from all, is the weakness of a little and proud mind; but to like flattery only for the sake of the flatterer when that flatterer himself deserves more praise than he bestows, is in my mind at wor st buta

frailty, and a very pardonable one too: as the woman who likes the lover only for the sake of the love is a prostitute; but she who yields to the love only for the sake of the lover seems to me to be very pardonably frail, and I would even prefer that tender feeling to some rugged virtues. Considering our natures there is an equity in this decision of mine, which I should think my friend the Lord Chancellor must approve of; but whether the rigour of the King's Bench will allow it or not, your Lordship is the best judge.

Considering the common notions of the Public, which (by the way) are commonly erroneous, it would to most people look like affectation to say that I am with regret forced out of an agreeable and pleasing situation into a laborious and anxious one; but an *idler of Celbridge Abbey*, I should think, may enter into my way of reasoning, and believe it possible for me to prefer *otium cum dignitate*, even tho' *cum securitate*, and I can with truth assure your Lordship that my present destination does not prevent me from thinking of my last, both with affection and regret.

The week after next I will send your neighbour the Archbishop of Cashell some apricock-trees,* which I promised him when I had the pleasure to dine with him at Celbridge. I send him enough, in hopes and confidence that he will help his neighbours. They are of the true Brussels kind, and in my opinion a most excellent fruit. My only apprehension as to the success of your share of them, arises from that amorous violence which Mrs. Anna† sometimes offers you, which I heard you once complain of in a sorrowing manner; and how your Lordship will escape her attacks I do not know.

Let me conclude this letter, too long by far, with the common compliments of the season, but with this (I assure

* The old spelling—See Shakspeare.

† The Chief Justice's wife Anna De Laune.

you) very uncommon truth : May you see many more years in good health: and then your good head and your good heart secures 'em happy.

Dii tibi dent annos, de te nam cætera sumes,

I am with the utmost esteem,

Your Lordship's most faithful and

Obedient servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

Pray make my best compliments to all your family. I reckon Mrs. Connolly of that number.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Marlay.

The Chief Justice had several children. His eldest son Anthony sat in the Irish Parliament for a short time, but died young. Thomas was a colonel in the service of George II., and served under Prince Ferdinand at the celebrated battle of Minden. He was remarkable for coolness and bravery, and displayed courage to excess. Heading the British infantry, which he commanded, he withstood the repeated shocks of the enemy, and observing the fire of his men to make less execution than he desired, he sheathed his sword, and laid his cane across their firelocks, to make them aim with greater effect. At length they routed the enemy, and cut to pieces the flower of the French cavalry. He was wounded in that action, and was presented with a sword, on which were marked in letters of gold, "*Warranted never to fail.*" He possessed an excellent understanding, great spirit, and high principles. He lived retired at Marlay Abbey,

about ten miles from Dublin, on the banks of the Liffey; that spot which had been the abode of the celebrated and unfortunate Vanessa, the friend and victim of Swift. Though not in Parliament, he took part in the affairs of his country, and recommended and supported the measures pursued by the volunteers in 1780 and 1782. He also aided the independent body in the House of Commons, in their struggles on behalf of the liberties of their country.

It was on the spot just alluded to, and under that encouragement, amidst the walks and bowers which Swift and Vanessa have consecrated, that Henry Grattan planned his measures for the independence of Ireland; there too he meditated those matchless pieces of eloquence, and those powerful harangues, which roused the nation to a sense of her sufferings and her dignity, till her demands became irresistible. So high was the opinion Mr. Grattan entertained of Colonel Marlay's understanding, that he always consulted him; and when he was attacked for his violence, as it was then called, and when complaints were sent from England of the extremes that he seemed to advance towards—when Burke even wrote over to "*stop that madman Grattan*"—Colonel Marlay encouraged and advised him to persevere.

After the success of 1782, when his friends proposed to move for a grant of one hundred thousand pounds, he determined to refuse it; and

when Mr. Bagenal moved for fifty thousand pounds to be settled on him, Mr. Grattan went to Colonel Marlay, and stated that he would decline to accept it. But his uncle dissuaded him from his intention, and strongly recommended him to accept the sum, representing to him that while he remained a lawyer he must still be dependent; that his exertions on behalf of Ireland would be not only limited, but liable to misconstruction, if he ever accepted office, or if he did not take this opportunity of securing a perfect independence.

The other son of the Chief Justice, was Richard, Bishop of Clonfert, and afterwards of Waterford. He was remarkable for his wit and humour, and also for his literary talents. He lived much in the society of Lord Charlemont, and formed one of the gay circle that in those days adorned the city of Dublin. He composed well, and wrote a prologue for the private theatricals at Carton, (the seat of the Duke of Leinster,) a humorous comedy, which however was never published, and also some amusing pieces of poetry. He sat in Parliament at the period of the Union, and possessed the feelings of an Irishman, for he voted and entered his protest against that measure.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Grattan's first school. — A pedagogue. — School anecdote. — His school-fellows. — Malones, Hussey Burgh, and Mr. Canning. — Attacked by illness.—Peep-o-day boys.—Mr. Marlay to Mr. Grattan.—Mr. Grattan enters college.—His intimates there. — Forster, Macauley, Boyd, Robert Day, Dr. Doyle, John Fitzgibbon. — Mr. Broome.—Gloomy tendency of Mr. Grattan's mind.— His political opinions — opposed to those of his father. — Mr. Grattan's patrimony.—Unkind treatment by his father.— Letters. — Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome — His state of mind described — His love of the country and solitude — His studies — Changes of feeling — His strong friendship for Broome —His opinions of Lord Bolingbroke, Virgil, and Pope.

THERE were but three distinguished schools in Dublin, to one of which—that of Mr. Ball's, in Great Ship-street, the quarter where the lawyers chiefly resided — Mr. Grattan was sent. Mr. Fitzgibbon, (afterwards Lord Clare,) the political opponent of Mr. Grattan, was also at this school, and was a good scholar; he knew science and the classics well, but he discovered no traits of genius or of taste.

An occurrence took place at this school which caused Mr. Grattan to leave it, and which indicated the spirit that he possessed. The master was not a very superior scholar, and he ruled his pupils by fear more than anything else. Attired in a large wig and loose cloak, he frightened the boys by his air of authority. It was Henry Grattan's turn to translate a passage from Ovid's Metamorphoses, where Phœbus asks his father for his horses, and replies—

> "Nescius affectas, placeat sibi quisque licebit;
> Non tamen ignifero quisquam consistere in axe
> Me valet excepto."

It happened that the Recorder was extremely proud of his knowledge of the classics, and had read the passage with his son, who gave his father's translation. Ball denied its correctness, taxed Grattan with being a stupid boy, and ordered him to go down on his knees before the entire class, and desired the servant to tell him, in their presence, that he was a very idle boy. The servant, who seemed to possess more good sense and feeling than the master, declined the office. This circumstance weighed upon the mind of the pupil, and, indignant at the tyranny of his tutor, he at last insisted on leaving the school. I have heard him repeat this anecdote with great good humour. He afterwards went to Mr. Young's school, in Abbey-street, where the Malones and Hussey Burgh had

been educated, and where he met with Mr. Canning, uncle to the celebrated George Canning. Several of the contemporaries of Mr. Grattan, who were at this school, have told me that he was considered a boy of great spirit and was highly respected by his school-fellows.

In 1763 he was attacked by severe illness, which affected him for a considerable time, and which returned again at the most trying period of his life, when he was arranging the political measures with Lord Charlemont in 1782. On this occasion his uncle, Richard Marlay, wrote to him as follows :—

COL. MARLAY TO MR. GRATTAN.

DEAR HARRY,

BY this time I imagine you can form a judgment of your new medicines, which I hope have had the desired effect, and have made a more severe operation unnecessary. I hope to hear from you soon, and to be informed of their success.

The part of the country where I live, is so retired that no news of any kind reaches us; even the actions of the Oak-Boys,* who are only fifteen miles from us are not known here, till Faulkner celebrates them in his annals.

* These men rose against high rents, and proceeded to acts of great outrage. They gave birth to a succession of parties and factions, who, under different names — "Hearts of steel," "Peep of day Boys," &c. &c.—appeared afterwards at various periods of the Irish history. They rose against rents, and tithes, and low prices of labour, which they sought to regulate. Landlords seemed almost to forget that there were

Yet this solitude has lately been honoured with the presence of Lady Jane Courtney, Lord Bute's sister. This lady in her person and manners, is extremely like Mrs. Spring, a friend of Mrs. Levinge.* She is lodged in a wretched house on the sea-shore. The people where she lived told me they "believed she was never good, egg or bird," and that "she was so nice and tasty, that she would never put a bit in her mouth unless it was dressed by her Scotch cook."

I pass my time here in walking and reading. On Sunday I preach to a large congregation of beggars. The same day I dine with one of my parishioners, in a very small cabin, scarcely large enough to contain the dinner, which consists of provisions sufficient for a sea-voyage. The company at these entertainments are very select.

Remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Grattan, and all the girls.

I am, dear Harry,
Your's affectionately, &c.
R. MARLAY.

Tullymore, 30th July, 1763.

duties as well as rights that belonged to them, and which they ought in fairness equally to observe. The legislature passed such severe acts to restrain these lawless proceedings, that Mr. Young, in his "Tour in Ireland," describes them as more fitted for the meridian of Barbary than a free country. They wholly failed in their effect, and many of the Oak Boys were brought up to Dublin, tried, and acquitted. These violent proceedings, at a much later period, were extended to the payment of tithes — the price and letting of land — to uphold what is termed "*a tenant's right*," and prevent ejection from their farms. The want of manufactures, and the extinction of the various and useful trades arising therefrom, had thrown the people upon the only manufacture which remained, (as it could not be taken away)—namely that of the soil; and to this the Irish peasantry adhere with a desperate and a surprising tenacity.

* Aunt to Mr. Grattan.

In 1763 Mr. Grattan entered Dublin college, where he became acquainted with Foster, afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons, Macauley, Boyd, Robert Day, Mr. Irwine, Mr. Doyle, and John Fitzgibbon, afterwards Earl of Clare. Both he and Mr. Fitzgibbon discovered great abilities, and both obtained the high prizes of the University. Mr. Grattan's most intimate friend at this period was Mr. Broome. This gentleman was a good classical scholar, and possessed a great taste for poetry; a general similarity of disposition, a love of literature, and an ardent attachment to the country and rural scenery, (which latter with Mr. Grattan was a passion,) were the chief grounds of their intimacy. Mr. Broome was at that time a cornet in the army; and though a military life did not favour the muses, yet he evinced a taste that found a response in the mind of Mr. Grattan, and a long correspondence ensued, which continued while Mr. Grattan was at the Temple, and till after the period of 1782.

From this gentleman I was fortunate enough to obtain many letters, some of which are here inserted. They show a gloomy tendency of mind at this period of Mr. Grattan's life, occasioned probably in a great degree by the manner of his father, and perhaps increased by the difference in political opinions that, even at so early a period, subsisted between them. The Tory principles of the latter were ill suited to the ardent and patrio-

tic sentiments of his son, who was an admirer of the principles of Dr. Lucas, and of the public questions that he espoused, all of which did not accord with the opinions of his father, to whom Dr. Lucas was in perpetual opposition.

The patrimony Mr. Grattan inherited was small, and had been secured by settlement, so that it was beyond the reach of his father's anger; but he left from him the paternal mansion, which had been in the family for upwards of a century. This act of unkindness, for which there was no sufficient cause, and which could only be traced to the waywardness of his father's disposition, and his singular character, excited in the breast of the son the most unhappy feelings; not for the loss of fortune, (which was never expected to be great,) but the want of affection of his parent wounded the son in the tenderest and most sensitive part. The feeling of melancholy to which I have alluded, as prevailing in Mr. Grattan's mind at this early period of his life, will be found to recur frequently in the subsequent letters to his most intimate friend.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Dunleer, August, 1765.

DEAR BROOME,

I take the pen with shame and diffidence, conscious of almost deserting a correspondence which, next your company, has been my principal consolation among a thousand shocks either real or imaginary. I tremble to address the

man whom I have provoked by not visiting, and aggravated my crime by not writing to. Excuses are generally insipid, as they are often insincere, but I should be beyond all recovery if I were to neglect you so long, and make no apology: this would be professing my errors as my principles: an excuse makes them appear as my infirmities.

You complain in your last letter about languor of body and disquietude of mind. I fear you contribute to both; a persuasion of being indisposed continues your indisposition, as a persuasion that your complaint cannot be cured, will not suffer you to search for a cure. I advise as if I were entitled to it; but alas, there is no man more overrun with rust than I am. I deal in doctrine, not in practice, and enforce the precepts I maintain by affording an example of the follies I decry.

If you want my company I am sure I want yours. A fluctuation of sentiment, a listless indolence, and the gloomy reflections that arise from it, make the chaos of my mind. But of this no more. A man who is not happy finds his principal comfort in painting his disquietude.

You are much, I hear, with Mr. St. Leger.* He is a man of understanding; but his wit, they say, sports about like a wild beast that terrifies, not entertains. I am at Foster's,† at Dunleer. His son and I are in college; the family are agreeable, the neighbourhood social, and the country pretty. I have been three days here and have taken the opportunity when the family retired to bed to write to you; there is something so pensive and solemn in the midnight hour, that I should prefer it above all for the purpose of writing, especially to you to whom the tattle of

* Afterwards member of the Irish parliament.

† Father of John Foster, Speaker of the House of Commons and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

the day I should be ashamed to relate. Farewell, my good friend, and write to me soon, that you may not justify me by your imitation. Yrs.

H. GRATTAN.

Cornet Broome,
Bruff, Limerick.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

June, 1766.

DEAR BROOME,

I am sorry that you always justify every neglect on my part by imitating it on yours: if I neglect answering your letter, you, by a greater neglect, make an excuse unnecessary, and always absolve me by your example. The death of my father, I suppose you have heard of. In the greatest agony of body, in the extremest distraction of mind, unexpectedly and impatiently he expired. I am determined upon the first occasion to retire with you to some country lodging, where we may enjoy one another's society, poverty, and independency. I am at present as retired as possible—perfectly unconcerned about the time to come—very little concerned about the time present,—melancholy and contemplative, yet not studious. I write this letter from Bellcamp, where I have been these three days without any of the family, and where I intend to continue some days longer in the same solitude. I employ myself writing, reading, courting the muse, and taking leave of that place where I am a guest, not an owner, and of which I shall now cease to be a spectator. I tell myself by way of consolation, that happiness is not the gift of any one spot, however ancient and native,—"*est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus;*" and that wherever I shall go the muse and your friendship shall accompany me.

Perhaps the time may come when fortune "*patre valentior*" may smile on me, and shall enable my old age to resign my breath where I first received it. Farewell; 'tis too late to continue my epistle; I am invited to the wood by the wood-quest, the thrush, and every circumstance that attends the evening. I shall walk there for an hour, borrow aid from imagination, and return, preferring the solitude of my situation to the sport, the bustle, or even the opulence of that of my acquaintance.

Yrs. ever,

H. GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

April 23rd, 1767.

DEAR BROOME,

You see I am vain of excelling you in punctuality. I wish you had the same pride not to be outdone in it. Your complaints remain to me a mystery; to be in a place where contemplation may visit, if you choose to court her—a place where love is not entirely a stranger—where you have no duns, and though no great superfluity of money, no frequent demands for it, is a situation not very deplorable, particularly to a man whose application is not compelled to insipid folios, and whose relish for present health has not been sated by past enjoyment. If your mind languishes, apply to reason—if your body, to a physician; and if each contract infirmities from one another, you must unite the remedies I speak of. I dwell the more on this, as I have perceived dissipation in your letters and incoherency in your language. A decay may be the consequence of the indolent maladies you mention. Remember, *principiis obsta*, is a maxim common to health as well as politics.

I received a letter from Macauley; he gives an account

of Lord Chatham, whose eloquence has gone beyond his expectations, unbounded as they were; he gives me a short account of Mr. Townsend, asks for his friends, at the head of whom he places you, and omits nothing unless it be to speak of himself; that topic he passes over with an insinuation of his idleness. I fear diligence and economy, the only legacies his father left him, neither measure the time or the expences of Macauley, and I begin to be convinced that fortune must be a better friend to him than ever he will be to himself, in order that our old schoolfellow may prosper. Fortune first encouraged him to exert himself by prosperity—she then stimulated him by distress—she must now work a miracle in his favour.

The compositions you demand of me are incorrect and illegible. My muse is at best but a slattern, and stumbles frequently in her passage. She visits me but seldom, and her productions are rather the effort of her mind than the nature of it. When her works are polished and rendered legible they shall be sent to you.

I hope to spend some time with you before I leave Ireland. My impatience to visit England is very moderate. I am not interested, and of course have no anxiety. I have indolence, which makes me at least careless if not happy; the rapture of boyhood I have done with, but then I am also free from the agony of it. This apathy is a certain security against perfection or happiness, but, it is true, it is a barrier against misery or depravity. The riding house I visit punctually, and find great pleasure in the exercise.

Irwin, the relict of our old knot, spends many hours with me. Fancy sometimes visits me, and presents the remainder of our intimates; she flatters me with some future day when we shall centre in the same retirement; when languor of body and created imps of the understanding will not oppress you; when idleness and distress will not dissi-

pate Macauley, and when the murmurs of conscious indolence will not agitate me. You will say, *vanitas et stultitia virorum.*

Farewell; answer me soon.

Your's,

H. GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Dublin, Thursday, May 7th, 1767.

DEAR BROOME,

There was a time when I felt with every book I read, and every line I wrote. There was sometimes a pain, but more frequently a rapture, in that exquisite sensibility. But, alas, that time is no more. We hardly find objects to engage us when we lose our relish for them—hardly find expression to convey our sentiment, when that sentiment freezes. Thus it is we are for ever precluded from perfect happiness; relish and opportunity never go together, and it is the punishment of man to mourn the want of the latter, or to be insensible to it. However, this feeling, that sleeps upon other occasions, awakens when I write to you. I can read the most beautiful authors, behold the most delightful landscape, without emotion, but I cannot write to you without a warmth of sentiment. I know what you will infer from thence; you will tell me I have no merit in punctuality, since it is indulgence. I anticipate your inference, to prevent it.

Lord Bolingbroke is most superior as a reasoner and an orator. I read him constantly; he overbears all opposition, and engages the reason and the passions on his side.

You told me in one letter you studied Virgil: continue it; elegance and harmony are his property; he has also fire, imagination, and a vast glow of poetry. Pope, I

hope, is not forgot by you, when poetry is your study. If I were to speak with the mob of readers, I should hold him as a minor author; if I were to speak as I felt, I should equal him to the first. He has correctness and elegance superior to any author, and I think I can point out passages where he is no less sublime.

To lend the money is not the least inconvenience to me; on the contrary, your application to any one else, for the sum I could supply, I should have esteemed an injury to me.* You may depend on having it before the time you have limited.

I shall be sure to visit you, and intend to study Virgil and Pope and other authors with you that wear the laurel.

Your's,
H. GRATTAN.

* This was to purchase a commission, which Mr. Broome afterwards effected.

CHAPTER IV.

Retrospect of Irish History.—Cromwell's Invasion, and the Restoration. —No Parliament.—Certain Hereditary Revenues absolutely in the King.—Parliament with the People in the reign of George III.—Lord Sydney's Protest.—Duke of Dorset.—Arbitrary seizure of Revenue 1753.—Private Council originate Money-Bills.—Lord Sydney, 1692. —Lord Townsend.—Violent proceedings.—Parliament Dissolved.— Anthony Malone, honest Chancellor of Exchequer.—His conduct and character.—Papist Relief Bill in 1769.—First concession to the Catholics.—Lost in England.—Foresight of Malone.—Lord Halifax's Government.—Poyning's Law.—Primate Stone.—Malone removed from office—unjust accusation against him.—His personal appearance.—Lord Pery.—Summary of Malone's character.—Irish politics in 1753.—First symptom of public feeling.—Rejection of the Money-Bill.—Ineffectual struggle.—Irish Judges made independent.—Abuse of Pensions.—Irish remonstrance.—Letters of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Bedford.

AFTER the death of Lord Strafford, in May 1641, and the breaking out of the civil wars on the 23rd of October following, parliament did not assemble till March, 1647, and only sat until June, 1648. Pending Cromwell's invasion, and the Restoration, it did not meet. In May, 1661, it assembled, and then voted the Quit rents to the Crown, as a compensation for the forfeited lands; the Hearth-

money tax, as an equivalent for the Abolition of the Court of Wards; and the Hereditary Revenue of Customs and Excise, in consideration of the Act of Settlement and Explanation. This was voted to the King and his successors for ever; so that the disposal of this Hereditary Revenue was vested absolutely in the King,—his letter and seal being the only Authority for using it.

Having thus parted with their power, the Parliament became extinct, and from 1666 they did not assemble for near thirty years. They met after the Revolution in 1692, in the fourth year of William III. and did nothing until they began to incorporate with the people in the reign of George III. In 1692 they made an effort at display of public spirit, on the subject of a Money Bill, but were quickly suppressed by the Protest and Prorogation of the deputy Lord Sydney, when the opinion of the twelve judges in England, and of the eight judges in Ireland, were given *seriatim* against the rights of Ireland.

In 1753, under the Duke of Dorset, the Parliament made another attempt respecting the surplus in the treasury, and there the strong hand of power arrested its infantine efforts, and the revenues of the state were arbitrarily seized on and appropriated by the executive.*

* "The flames in Ireland are stifled—I cannot say extinguished—by adjourning the Parliament, which is prorogued. A catalogue of *dimensions* was sent over thither, but the Lord Lieutenant durst not venture to

The *altering* money bills was long a *vexata questio* in Ireland, and the House of Commons had uniformly resisted this encroachment on their right. Primate Boulter, in his letters in 1729, writes to the Duke of Newcastle, and states the great opposition then made to the alteration of a money bill:—"many members will be for losing the bill rather than agreeing to the alterations."

The *originating* of money bills in the Privy Council was another just and still greater ground of complaint. In 1692 the Irish Commons had rejected a money-bill, and had assigned as a reason that it originated in the Privy Council. Lord Sydney, who was then Lord Lieutenant, sent a protest against this to the House of Lords, denying the right of the Commons, and asserting as he terms it the prerogative of the King,—and then prorogued the Parliament. This was the precedent for the course adopted in 1769 by Lord Townsend when he dissolved the Parliament, and resorted to the same violent proceedings; and this was the measure selected at the outset of the reign, to characterize the administration of Lord Halifax by

put them in execution. The style towards that island is extremely lofty, and after some faint proposals of giving them some agreeable governor, violent measures have been resumed. The Speaker (Henry Boyle), is removed from being Chancellor of the Exchequer; more of his friends are displaced, and the Primate, with the Chancellor, and Lord Besborough, again nominated Lord Justices. These measures must oppress the Irish spirit, or what is more natural, inflame it to despair."—*Walpole's Letters to Sir H. Mann.*

a gross invasion of the rights of the House of Commons.

A money-bill originating in the Privy Council was proposed in the first session of Parliament, in 1760, against the advice of Anthony Malone, who had in private sought to dissuade Government from such a measure,—conceiving it to be contrary to law, and the constitutional rights of the House of Commons. Malone was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and for his honest opinion he was dismissed from office, and Mr. Hutchinson, who supported the bill, was created Sergeant, with an additional salary of 500*l.* a-year. This, however, was found to be illegal, and he resigned it,—but got a sinecure place—that of Alnager,—a patent place with 1000*l.* a-year salary. The bill passed and the money was granted. This was the first unconstitutional proceeding, and Malone's was the first penalty paid at the outset of the reign for a virtuous attachment to the rights of the people.

Anthony Malone was a conspicuous character in the history of his country. He was prime Sergeant in 1753, in the Vice-royalty of the Duke of Dorset; he sat for the county of Westmeath in the Parliament of 1757, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1760. He had the best understanding of the age, and the most benign person; a clear head and a sound judgment; an eloquence graceful and abundant; great general ability; and

a dignity that attracted, not repelled. His intellect was perhaps superior to that of any man of his day;—in fact he and Lord Pery were the only men of that time. He was in office at the period of the altered money-bill of 1753, and voted on the 17th December against the Court, in the celebrated majority of 122 against 117 on the question of the "previous consent." He began with the people, though he afterwards turned to the Court; yet if he feared to stir, it was because he lived at a period when few men dared to make an exertion* on behalf of Ireland, and no one could do it with success. He was a colony-bred man; and if he did not move, it was because he was afraid to bring down England upon Ireland; for he dreaded a contest with her; he knew her hard hand, and that she would have dealt upon Ireland without remorse, and thus he expresssed himelf to his friends

* "What shall one say of the Speaker, Mr. Malone, and the others? Don't they confess that they have gone the greatest lengths, and risked the safety of their country on a mere personal pique? If they did not contend for profit, like our patriots, (and you don't tell me that they have made lucrative stipulations), yet it is plain that their ambition had been wounded, and that they resented their power being crossed. But I, who am Whig to the backbone, indeed to the strictest sense of the word, feel hurt in a tenderer point, and which you, who are a minister, must not allow me. I am offended at their agreeing to an address, that avows such deference for prerogative, that is to protest so deeply against having intended to attack it. However rebel this may sound at your court, my Gothic spirit is hurt. I do not love such loyal expressions from a parliament. I do not so much consider myself writing *to* Dublin Castle, as *from* Strawberry Castle, where you know how I love my liberty."—*Horace Walpole's Correspondence.—Letter from Mr. Conway, Secretary in Ireland, to Lord Hartington.*

in private. These were his secret and his real sentiments, and he had spirit and sense to feel as he did, and prudence enough not to say so. He was full of wisdom, and possessed great foresight, and great discrimination. Malone was fond of liberty; and though he was a timid and an idle patriot, he was a patriot notwithstanding.

In 1768 a bill was brought in for the relief of the Papists, (as they were then invidiously termed) to enable them to lend money on Mortgages. This bill was the first dawn of liberality towards that ill-treated, and oppressed body. It passed the House without a division, but was lost in England. Anthony Malone supported it.

On another occasion, when a measure of relaxation towards the Catholics was proposed, Anthony Malone turned to Denis Daly, and said, "This is the beginning;—the whole system must go, and I rejoice at it from my heart."

Malone foresaw the consequences of the measure, and knew that justice would finally assert herself. He was endowed with a strong mind; and though he was not possessed of great learning or extensive reading, he had what was much better, a fund of exceeding honesty. Although he voted with government, and was obliged to support many of their measures, the reason was, that he thought it better to allay the violence of the governing party, than exasperate it by opposition; being well aware that matters were not ripe for

action, and that it was prudent to await the opportunity which his penetration taught him to discern was approaching: for he was convinced that the system adopted towards his country would come to a timely, though perhaps not a speedy termination.

In Lord Halifax's government Malone behaved well; he gave an honest and spirited opinion; he advised the government not to interfere with the money bills. He was not officious in so doing; he gave this opinion because he thought it was right, and he suffered in consequence; he opposed the court, and upheld the rights of the Commons to originate the supplies.

When Parliament was summoned in 1760, it was necessary, according to Poyning's law, to state the reasons for calling it, and to mention the heads of the bills. Government did so, and stated a money bill. To this Primate Stone objected, and so did Malone; the latter remonstrated against the measures of government; and for this sound and constitutional advice, he was considered unfit to discharge the duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was removed from office. A proceeding so unjust, so severe, and so ill deserved, shows how Ireland was governed, and how hard she was driven by the English minister. Malone was dismissed too without a pension; but he neither felt nor regretted this. All however did not drive him into opposition; his mind contained nothing

factious or resentful; he still continued to advise the court, and to assist them with his judgment, of which they stood much in need; so that if he did not carry any good measure, he had the merit of advising them against many that were bad, and of deterring them from others.

This line of conduct was not popular, and exposed Malone to much blame, and he was accused, most unjustly, of taking money. In January, 1761, he brought in the money bill against which he had remonstrated. He did this officially; but perhaps it had been better if he had not done it, although he was chairman of the committee of supply; for it was afterwards said that he received £3000 secret service money. Of this he was incapable, and of money he was regardless; for although not devoid of vanity, he had not any family, or any habits of expense. His mind was honest—as pure as it was disinterested—and it raised him far above such low considerations.

Malone sat in the court as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and delivered his judgments, which were good, with great ability. He was calm and grave, both in mind and manner. His hair, which was quite grey, gave him a fine look, and added to his dignified and majestic appearance. He was not however possessed of that dignity which Lord Pery had, and he wanted his political courage; so that he probably would have sunk where Lord Pery would have risen. He had stronger faculties

than Lord Pery, but he was not so active, nor had he so busy a mind: he was more vigorous, but Pery was more acute.

Though, as I have said, Malone was not the best of lawyers, nor the first of classical scholars, yet he had a powerful style of reasoning, and exceedingly honest, and these gave him great and deserved influence. Malone was in great practice in his profession at the bar, and from his fee book, which I saw at Baronstown, the family seat in the county of Westmeath, he appears to have been at a very early period in the receipt of three thousand guineas a-year. There is, at the place just named, a fine marble bust of him, and underneath an inscription, which his descendant, Lord Sunderlin, then in possession of the place, told me was very appropriate, and accurately described him. It is from Cicero on Scaurus—"*In Scauri oratione, reperti hominis et tecti—gravitas summa et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas, non ut causam sed ut testimonium dicere putares cùm pro reo diceret.*"

The subjects which occupied the attention of Parliament towards the close of George the Second's reign were the pensions,—(of which the list was wantonly excessive, and the disposal lavish* and profligate;)—the originating money-

* The Dowager Queen of Prussia, sister of George the Second, had a pension of £800 a-year on the Irish establishment, and on her death, the Duke of Bedford (lord lieutenant) obtained it for his wife's sister, Lady Betty Waldgrave.

bills in the Privy Council; the altering them in England; and the Bill for shortening the duration of Parliaments.

In 1753, the first appearance of public feeling was called forth, on the question of a surplus in the Treasury. It excited great sensation, and was the first subject since the revolution where the representatives of the people assumed any degree of political courage. The sum was not considerable, but the principle involved was every thing. £77,500 remained in the treasury, and the representatives of the people who paid the taxes naturally conceived they had a right to dispose of the surplus, without the previous consent and recommendation of his Majesty. But this principle was displeasing to the English ministry, and in case the Commons of Ireland should raise their head, it was resolved they should be made to feel their subordinate situation, and that it was one, not of annexation, but dependance. Accordingly, when the money-bill was returned from England, there was found an alteration, by the insertion of the words, "previous consent and recommendation of his Majesty,"—"that he would be pleased *to condescend* that it should be paid towards the liquidation of the national debt."

A Committee of the House was appointed to examine this bill; they reported the alteration, and the bill was rejected by five voices. Five of the Gore family, who voted on the occasion,

claimed to themselves the victory. The lists of the division were printed in black and red, the majority headed by the words "*Vindices libertatis,*" and the minority, "*Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.*"*

This event was the beginning of Irish freedom and the first symptom of public spirit and feeling. The ten years following this were passed in an ineffectual struggle on the subject of place and pension bills, and bills to limit the duration of parliament, all of which ended in impotent efforts on the part of the people. The Customs and Excise had been voted for ever. The parliament sat for the life of the king, and existed but in name. The Catholics were excluded from it, first by a resolution of the Irish house, to impose the oath of abjuration and supremacy, and afterwards by a British law; and they were also deprived of the right of electing members to Parliament, by the Act of William the Third, 1697. The constituency was thus confined to the Protestants, and reduced to nothing; so that the people had no control over the representatives, and the existence of a Parliament was a species of mockery. Hence their struggles were weak and ineffectual, and oppressed by the Court, and unconnected with and unsupported by the people, their voice was not heard throughout the nation.

The judges in Ireland held their office during

* See Appendix for this list.

pleasure, and on 11th November 1763, a motion having been made by Sir Lucius O'Brien to bring in the heads of a bill to make their commissions last only during good behaviour, the measure was suppressed and lost in the Privy Council, and no act to secure their independency was passed until 1782 when the cause of the people triumphed.*

* The manner in which the Irish Judges were selected may be judged of from the following circumstance;—Mr. Robinson had not the least idea that he would be created judge; he had written a Pamphlet in which he had treated of the right of the House of Commons to dispose of the money remaining in the Treasury without the previous consent of the Crown in 1753;—he denied such a right to exist, and wrote with much spleen. The Duke of Bedford, then Lord Lieutenant, was much displeased with that body, and asked, what person there was to fill the vacant judge's place, and inquired for some one who had never said any thing in favour of the House of Commons. Robinson was named, and was accordingly created judge; and he faithfully adhered to the principles of his appointment, for he carried to the bench no strong predilections in favour of popular assemblies.

On one occasion, when a case regarding the volunteers, where a riot had occurred, was tried in his court, Yelverton was pleading. Robinson stopped him by asking, "What is that you say of those volunteers—that they went in *quick time*?—was it when they were *running away*?"—Yelverton replied, "No, my lord, the Volunteers never run away—they go in quick time, when they *advance against the enemy*."

This individual pretended to be a great judge of speaking, and held oratory in sovereign contempt. He used to say, "Nothing so precarious or dangerous as eloquence—to be sure it made the fortune of *Jack Haly*, but it ruined Frederick Flood." To any one who remembers these individuals, this remark, no doubt will be very entertaining. The person whom he thus designated *Jack Haly* was Provost Hutchinson, who had been very severe in his remarks upon him, and on one occasion, exclaimed, "My lords, I see a loathsome spider crawls from the corner of the court."

Many years elapsed before any improvement took place in the selection of persons to fill the judicial bench, and the Union finally prostrated its character and sunk it in the eyes of the people. They beheld those men who had voted for the abolition of their Parliamentary constitution, rewarded by being appointed the administrators of law and the dis-

A subject which formed one of the causes of dispute at this period, arose from the transfer of the pension of 800*l.* a-year out of the Irish establishment, which was paid to the King's sister, (Queen Dowager of Prussia), and on her death the Duke of Bedford, (Lord Lieutenant) obtained it for his wife's sister. When Parliament met, they took notice of this, and passed several spirited resolutions against pensions, absentees and various other grievances, which they desired to have forwarded to the King. The Duke replied that the matters complained of were of so serious a nature, that he could not immediately say that it would be proper to transmit them. The House were naturally and justly indignant, and finding that the Lord Lieutenant was not only the author of one of the grievances complained of, but the instrument to stifle their

pensers of justice: Mr. Toler, Mr. Fox, Mr. Daly, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Osborne, Mr. Mc. Cleland, Mr. Smith. This system of appointing men whose sentiments were known to be hostile to the civil and religious liberties of the subject lasted till a very late period, and it was not until the Government of the Marquess of Normanby that a just and salutary change took place, when the people could look up to the bench of justice with confidence and respect; then for the first time since the Revolution of 1688, were Roman Catholic Barristers allowed to receive the just reward of their industry and their talent. Michael O'Loghlin was the first Roman Catholic who was raised to the bench. He was appointed Master of the Rolls, and there exists but one opinion as to his integrity, his talents, and the general satisfaction his judgments give to the suitor. Mr. Stephen Woulfe succeeded the Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, and next Mr. Nicholas Ball succeeded Mr. Moore as one of the judges of the Common Pleas, men whose abilities entitled them to the situation.

The country is indebted for these appointments to the manly spirit and liberal mind of the late Viceroy, the Marquess of Normanby.—Ed.

utterance, they postponed the question regarding the supplies;—upon which the Government thought proper to yield, and the secretary, Mr. Rigby, acquainted the House that their resolutions would be forwarded to the King. This was accordingly done, and Mr. Pitt, (Lord Chatham) wrote in reply to the Duke of Bedford. But no good resulted from this interference, and even the suggestions of Lord Chatham to use "*softening and healing arts of government*," was wantonly perverted, and the most unblushing practices were shortly after resorted to, in order to beat down the aristocracy, and dissipate that junction of parties which was at that period the only mode left to make head against the abuses of the Government.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(*Secret.*)

Whitehall, Nov. 20, 1757.

My Lord,

The picture your Grace has given of parties in Ireland, the great fermentation of spirits in that kingdom, and their aptitude in such critical circumstances to kindle in higher and more mischievous heats and asperities, cannot but have made due impressions on his Majesty, and has given room, by the King's order, to the most serious deliberations of his servants, on the several parts of your grace's important Letter, and on the most salutary and efficacious methods of allaying present animosities, and securing future strength and harmony to Government. I am first to observe to your grace, with regard to the disagreeable, but short postponing of the Supply, that, as an apprehension of the Privileges of

the House being at stake, had first raised and would have nourished dissatisfaction,* on a common principle of Parliamentary union, found at all times more comprehensive than any other, your grace's prudence, in not persevering to maintain so disadvantageous and difficult a ground, has met with entire approbation.

I beg leave to refer myself to my former letter of the 18th instant, desiring, for the King's information, your grace's more particular sentiments and lights, concerning the causes, and properest remedies, of the present animosities, and difficulties to Government resulting therefrom.

At the same time I must not omit remarking, that an observation in your grace's letter, on the near equality in strength of the two predominant parties, highly deserves, and has not escaped the attention of his Majesty; and, if, in the present unhappy division, "those gentlemen who are determined against all Government, in whatever hands it may be placed, will be enabled," as your grace justly represents, "by their junction of either of the two parties which may be discontented, to embarrass matters to such a degree as to render it difficult, if not impossible to carry on affairs to his Majesty's satisfaction, and to the advantage of the public,"—I am to observe that a conjuncture so constituted seems naturally to suggest, and almost necessitate, *all softening and healing arts of Government*, consistent with its dignity, and as far as may be practicable, plans of comprehension and harmony.

I am, &c. &c.

W. PITT.

* "The Primate's faction have passed eleven resolutions on Pensions and Grievances, equal to any in 1641, and the Duke of Bedford's friends durst not say a word against them. The day before yesterday a messenger came from him for help. The Council here will try to mollify; but Ireland is no tractable country."—*Walpole's Letters to Sir H. Mann.*

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. PITT.

(Most secret and particular.)

Dublin Castle, Dec. 5, 1757.

SIR,

I have as yet had barely time to acknowledge the receipt of your secret dispatch of the 26th of last month, by the last packet that sailed from hence, which I did not think a safe conveyance for the matter I now find myself under the necessity of writing to you. I think myself under the deepest obligations of gratitude to his Majesty for his gracious approbation of my conduct hitherto, in carrying on his business here; and for the assurance that "his gracious countenance and support will never be wanting to me in the administration of government in Ireland, in all such proper instances as his Majesty shall be first satisfied, are best calculated for contributing facility and strength to his affairs, and ease and credit to myself." As it has ever been my constant wish, in every station of life in which I have acted, to prefer the milder method of conciliation and union, to the harsher one of punishment and separation, I shall with great willingness undertake the task, however difficult it may be, which his Majesty has prescribed to me, of using my utmost endeavours to conciliate and unite those two (at present) very disunited parties—I mean the Kildares and Ponsonbys.* This is the only step of conciliation that seems to me to be in any degree practicable; and though the difficulties appear to be very great, yet I do not think them absolutely insurmountable. I have already taken every step that I thought likely to con-

* The parties at this time existing in Ireland are described by Horace Walpole to have been "The Primate's, Lord Kildare's; those attached to the speaker (Ponsonby,) and who in truth were a defection

duce to this salutary end, but as yet I have found very little reason to expect much success in my endeavours; which I must chiefly ascribe to the belief of those reports, which have been industriously spread about this town by those of the Primate's * faction, that the last dispatches I received from you did tie up my hands from taking such measures as I might judge expedient to bring back his Majesty's servants to a due sense of their duty.

You see, sir, by this, what a gross misrepresentation has been made by designing men of those orders which his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to give me; which although they are penned with that spirit of moderation and coolness which his Majesty has at all times showed to all his subjects, preferring in the first instance, lenity and admonition to rigour and chastisement, do not, however, prevent me from taking such measures as the obstinacy of some might make absolutely necessary for the carrying on the business of government. And I flatter myself I am well founded in this belief, by your again referring me to your dispatch of the 18th of November, in which I am directed to transmit "to you for his Majesty's information the names of such persons, if any such shall occur to me,

from Kildare; and a flying squadron of patriots, the smallest body of the four, and composed, as is usual, of the discontented—that is, of those who had been too insignificant to be bought off, or whose demands had been too high; and of a few well-meaning men. Lord Kildare had still the greatest number of dependents, though inferior to those of the Primate and Ponsonby, if united; a point now eagerly pursued by the Archbishop, while at the same time he underhand inflamed the patriots against the castle, and had sufficient success."—*Memoirs of Geo. II.*

* Dr. George Stone, brother of Mr. Stone, the intimate friend of the Duke of Newcastle, appointed to the Bishopric of Ferns, at the age of twenty-eight, in the year 1731, to Kildare in 1733, to Derry in 1743, to the Primacy of Armagh in 1747, died in 1764.

as shall be most capable and best qualified from their abilities, credit, and connections, to strengthen and promote his Majesty's service."

As it is absolutely necessary, to enable me to be of any service to the King in this country, that the secret dispatches which are to come from you to me, be kept inviolably so, I must most earnestly entreat, that the contents of them may not be sent to individuals here; as the present instance shows of what dangerous consequence even the most trivial communication may be productive; for I can assure you of a certainty, that the messenger who brought me your dispatches, did bring at the same time a letter from a very considerable person in England to the Primate, besides another letter to one in his family; and it is to this correspondence I fear these injurious reports have arisen.

That I may not appear to have taken any thing up upon vague reports, I can inform you, that Sir Thomas Pendergrast has been the person who has propagated them all over this town, and I must leave you to judge whether even the bare suspicion of my not enjoying the King's entire countenance and support in my administration, is not sufficient to defeat my best endeavours for his Majesty's service. I beg, sir, that what I now write may not be imputed to the least diffidence I have conceived of you; but I have been long enough about court to know, that those of a prying and busy disposition do worm themselves into secrets in a very unaccountable manner, and the more easily, the more open and ingenuous the person they have to deal with is.

I shall trouble you no longer in this most secret and particular letter, than to assure you that whatever orders from his Majesty you shall transmit me during my stay here, I shall endeavour to execute them with fidelity and

punctuality; and as for my return hither a second time, I must leave that to the wisdom of his Majesty, and the judgment of his servants in England, who, I am convinced, can never advise him to intrust the government of this kingdom, in its present factious and unsettled state, into the hands of one who shall not be judged proper to be trusted with that power which can alone enable him to make that reformation, as well in men as things, which appears to be absolutely necessary at present.

I am, with great truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BEDFORD.

CHAPTER V.

Dread of a Union.—Rising in Dublin.—Mob-excesses.—Lord Hillsborough.—Expected Invasion of Ireland.—Rigby to Mr. Pitt.—Rigby and Walpole's description of the Excesses of the Mob.—Popular Song.—Militia Bill thrown out.—Embargo—Septennial Bill.—Reign of George III.—Dr. Lucas—His services to Ireland.—The Freeman's Journal.—His Literary Labors.—His Writings ordered to be burnt by the Hangman.—Ordered to be arrested, but escaped to England.—Practises as a Physician.—Returns to Ireland.—Sketch of his Character.—His efforts in the House of Commons.—Character of his Writings.—His Death and Public Funeral.

However deficient Parliament may have been in its constitution and action, yet the people, even at this period, evinced, though in a singular and rude manner, their attachment to the institution. In 1759, Rigby was Master of the Rolls and Secretary to the Duke of Bedford, then Lord Lieutenant. He was a man of strong and quick natural parts, but of a coarse and uncultivated mind, and dissipated in his habits. On the 3rd of December, the people dreading a union, and apprehensive that their Parliaments (such as they were,) would be taken from them, suddenly rose in Dublin. The drum beat throughout that part

called the Liberty, where the abode of the manufacturers principally lay, and roused them, on the announcement that before a certain hour next day the houses of Parliament would be removed. Rigby they hooted and threatened to kill. He states that he was not afraid, and that he drove through the streets in his carriage. Other accounts reported that he rode out of town that day. The Lord Chancellor (Bowes) was dragged from his chariot; Warden Flood, the Attorney-General, was wounded and took refuge in the College; the mob stopped the members on their way to the House, and administered an oath to them, that they would not vote for a union. They broke into the House of Lords, and placed an old woman in the chair, and adding ridicule to violence, sent for pipes and tobacco for her. No further mischief, however, was done.

Lord Hillsborough, (who was afterwards Secretary of State for the American colonies) was strongly in favour of a union, and had so expressed himself publicly in England.* The idea that haunted the minds of the ministers was, that these excesses were attributable to emissaries from France, and were but a part of the plan of invasion; and Walpole, in his Memoirs of George II., adopts the

* "The cry in Ireland has been against Lord Hillsborough, supposing him to meditate an union of the two islands. George Selwyn seeing him set t'other night between my Lady Harrington and my Lord Barrington, said, 'Who can say my Lord Hillsborough is not an enemy to an union?'"—*Walpole's Letters.*

idea that England was to be invaded from Dunkirk, and Ireland from Brest, while Thurot was to fall upon Scotland;—thus seeking to attribute to a foreign enemy and to a distinct cause that which was merely the result of domestic maladministration.

Rigby wrote to Mr. Pitt, (afterwards Lord Chatham,)—"The mob of this kingdom seek to terrify by numbers, and say since they have no chance of numbers in the House, they must have recourse to the old method of numbers out of doors. There is no tale so absurd that the people here will not swallow with a few shillings' worth of whiskey. An infamous disappointed old lawyer*, who offered me a bribe of one thousand pounds to make him a judge, for which I treated him as he deserved; I suspect to have been at great pains to poison the minds of the people, particularly on the dreaded subject of the union, there being no more Parliaments to be held in Ireland. The Protestants you say have hands and zeal; I am sorry to say there is a sect among the Protestants who have a zeal most dangerous to be

* Who this "Old lawyer" was, does not appear; the offer (if ever it was made) possibly may have received encouragement, not only from the equally great disgrace of publicly selling seats in Parliament—at that period the common practice in England—as from the character and conduct of Mr. Rigby, whom Mr. Walpole describes as a person 'roughened with brutality"—"his passions turbulent and overweening"—"totally uncultivated"—and "indulging in profuse drinking." Yet this person was Secretary in Ireland. Junius in his celebrated Letters says, "his name was a satire on all government."

trusted; they are descended from Cromwell's followers, and still retain that stubborn spirit; they avow at this day a dislike to monarchy and the established church, and their fidelity requires equal watching with the Papists. Indeed I do not state the situation of the country in a more unfavourable light to you than it appears to me after much acquaintance with it."

Such was Mr. Rigby's statement. How mistaken this individual was, and how erroneous the information he thus gave to Lord Chatham, as to the character and the objects of this party, will hereafter appear, when we read what their spirit achieved for their country and her liberties. The description that Mr. Fox gives of them forms a fine contrast with that of Mr. Rigby, and shows how differently principles and men appear when viewed by the friend, or the foe to civil freedom. He denominates them "*the old leaven of liberty, that fermented and kneaded together the principles of the British constitution.*"

MR. RICHARD RIGBY TO MR. PITT.

Dublin Castle, December 5, 1759.

SIR,

I have spared no pains to discover the authors and abettors of it, but hitherto my endeavours have been to no purpose. The pretence put into their mouths is, a Union with Great Britain, and an abolition of parliaments here.

They are of the very lowest and scum of the people; desperate by nature, made more so by drams; and they have shown no regard to persons, or to parties which heretofore subsisted in this country; the being a member of either House of Parliament was the crime, and they tendered oaths indiscriminately to all, to swear they were true to their country; and the taking such oaths did not satisfy the mob.

The Earl of Inchiquin was one object of their fury in his way to the House of Lords, or rather at his entrance into it. They stripped him of his wig and ribbon, and he escaped, in imminent danger of his life. Mr. Rowley, who is a privy councillor, and a man of great fortune, was dragged the length of a street by them, and narrowly escaped being thrown into the river and drowned. Mr. Morres, a member of Parliament, and one of the King's counsel, was stripped of his very shirt, and beat and bruised. The Attorney-General was wounded in his chariot, which he was obliged to quit, and to take refuge in the college. These are but few of very many instances of the like nature.

I have heard that, by their discourses, I have been a principal object of their aversion; but I have never failed going to Parliament and from it in my own* chariot,

* This does not quite agree with the account given by Walpole, who states that the fury of the people was directed against Rigby, for whom they had prepared a gallows, and were determined to hang him on it; but, fortunately, that morning he had gone out of town to ride, and had received notice not to return. "The mob assembled round the House of Commons, and Mr. Ponsonby, the Speaker, was obliged to go out and pacify them, and with Mr. Rigby, declared if a Bill of Union was brought in, they would vote against it. The Bishop of Killala and the Lord Chancellor (Bowes) were dragged out of their carriage, and Lord Inchiquin, who had arrived in town to oppose the Union, was insulted.

and have never met with insult or blow from them, though I have observed unpleasant countenances. In the various reports which you may imagine have been brought to me of this tumult from time to time, the Duke of Bedford's name has never once been mentioned.

After this account I wish I could pretend to ascribe the true motive of it to you. It certainly may be occasioned by emissaries from France, though I think I should have discovered it if that had been the case. The better kind of people, the tradesmen, and the like, are ashamed and terrified at such proceedings, and are one and all with the Parliament, willing and desirous to concur in every means to subdue them. The magistrates have undoubtedly been remiss. The lord-mayor is a timorous and weak man. He with the sheriffs have been at the bar of the House of Commons many hours to-day, and I have told them and the House my opinion in the strongest terms upon this state of things, worse than anarchy, and I must do the House the justice to say, they are willing to support me to the utmost.

I hope, Sir, you will hear no more of such shameful misdemeanors, and be assured, that all spirit shall be shown in the execution of the laws, if more of them* shall happen.

I am, with the greatest esteem and regard,
Sir,
Your most obedient and
Obliged humble servant,
RICHARD RIGBY.

The mob pulled off his perriwig and put the oath to him. He had an impediment in his speech, and stuttering, they cried—'Damn you, do you hesitate?' but hearing that his name was O'Bryen, their rage was turned into acclamations."—*Memoirs*, Vol. ii.

* The sentiments of the people on this subject may be judged of from

A militia bill was also proposed by the popular party, in order to make the armed force somewhat more national and parliamentary; but this was finally thrown out at the end of the Session in 1767, and instead thereof, the standing army was augmented; which as there was no annual Mutiny Bill, was in Ireland perpetual.

the following song, which was written in the time of the Duke of Dorset, and was now revived and circulated in all parts of the country:—

GRANU-WEAL.

A courtier called Dorset, from Park-gate did sail,
In his Majesty's yacht, for to court Granuweal;
With great entertainment he thought to prevail,
And rifle the charms of Granuweal.

Sing budderoo, didderoo, Granuweal,
The fox in the trap we have caught by the tail;
Come fill up your bowls, and to drink ne'er fail,
Sing success to the sons of brave Granuweal.

Says the courtier to Granu, if you will be true,
I will bring you to London, and do for you too;
Where you shall have pleasure that never will fail,
I'll laurel your shamrock, sweet Granuweal.

Sing, &c.

Says Granu to Dorset, if that I would do,
Bring my fortunes to London, my children would rue,
We would be like Highlanders, eating of keal,
And cursing the Union, says Granuweal.

Sing, &c.

Says Granu, I always was true to my King,
When in war, I supplied him with money and men:
Our love to King George, with our blood we did seal
At Dettingen battle, says Granuweal.

Sing, &c.

Another measure was, laying on the embargo, under the pretence of a scarcity of grain, and stopping the export of provisions. The bill was returned from England, altered in a singular and unconstitutional manner; it was, however, passed; and the doctrine that the King could impose an embargo without any new law, was advanced and maintained.

The next encroachment was the enforcing the embargo by proclamation, after the act authorising it had expired, such were the violent measures on the part of government.

Says Granu, I always still loved to be free,
No foe shall invade me in my liberty;
While I've Limerick, Derry, and the fort of Kinsale,
I'll love and not marry, says Granuweal.

Sing, &c.

Says Granu, you see there's a large stone put in,
To the heart of the Church, by the leave of the King;
The works of this stone shall be weighed in a scale,
With balance of justice, says Granuweal.

Sing, &c.

I hope our brave Hartington, likewise Kildare,
Our trade and our commerce once more will repair;
Our lives we will venture, with greatest assail,
Against French and Spaniards, says Granuweal.

Sing, &c.

Now, my dear boys, we've got shut of these bugs,
I charge you, my children, lie close in your rugs;
They'll hide like a snake, but will bite I'll be bail,
I'll give them shillelah, says Granuweal.

Sing, &c.

At the close of the Parliament at the end of the Reign of George II. (Parliaments in Ireland lasted during the life of the King,) the Septennial Bill had been brought forward. This measure took its rise among the people, the constituents of counties and of boroughs; and in the first session of the reign of George III. it was brought forward by Doctor Lucas. It was approved of by the Lord Lieutenant and Council; and the bill was transmitted to England, but was never returned.

The popular party, thus defeated, but not discouraged, brought forward the measure a second time, in the ensuing session, with the same zeal, and the same result. In the third session, the measure was again introduced; and the Chief Governor, Lord Hertford, gave every assurance of his support. His brother was one of the principal Secretaries in England; his son was Secretary in Ireland, and voted for the bill. But it was, nevertheless, a third time rejected, and the people were disappointed. A fourth time it was attempted, in the winter of the session of 1767-8, in Lord Townsend's Administration, and was returned from England, along with the bills of supply, altered from septennial to octennial, and was at length (Feb. 9, 1768,) passed into a law.

Of this measure Doctor Lucas may justly be considered the parent. Lucas was a singular character, and took an active, a varied and a remarkable part in the affairs of the country; but he was

very different from the men of his day—Mr. Malone, Mr. Pery, Mr. Flood; he was of another order, and of another structure of mind, and he moved in a different sphere. Though without the high talent, and extensive knowledge, or the great general powers of those distinguished men, he nevertheless rendered to his country very great and distinguished services, and in fact laid the ground-work of Irish liberty. Lucas was the first who, after Swift, dared to *write freedom*. He established the "Freeman's Journal," a paper that upheld liberal principles, that raised a public spirit where there had been none, and kept up a public feeling when it was sinking, and to which, in a great degree, Ireland was indebted for her liberties.

Lucas's name stands connected with those two great measures, the Freedom of the Press, and the shortening the duration of Parliaments. His history presents the singular spectacle of a man of humble origin,—an apothecary by profession, and that profession his only means of subsistence,—moreover, without education, with little acquired knowledge, and little force of talents,—issuing from his shop, and at once attacking abuses wherever he finds them. He does this too with great boldness, and admirable spirit. He not only attacked abuses, but individuals, and declared a general war against the wrongs of his country, her governors, her laws, and her Representatives. He bade defiance to the

power and tyranny of the Parliament of Ireland, and was fearless of the vengeance of Great Britain. He was another Swift, but without the vast talents of that writer. In Lucas it seemed a sort of inspiration, for nothing was too high or too low for his resentment or his ambition. He assailed every thing and every body, from the Monarch who swayed the sceptre down to the Mayor who held the city mace. He flung them all into his political crucible, and poured upon them indiscriminately the vials of his unsparing vituperation. He deemed their offences great, and his language was strong in proportion. He made political abuse a sort of trade, and got business by it, and popularity.

In 1748 Lucas addressed a number of letters to his fellow-citizens, that were devoid of style and taste, but were full of ardor, spirit, and the love of freedom; their sentiments strong, their principles sound, and their boldness undaunted. His writings were all in favour of liberty, and they embraced all the leading points of Irish grievances. He denied the supremacy of the British Parliament—he asserted the absolute independence of Ireland, and her right to self-government—he attacked Poyning's law, and the final judicature assumed by the British House of Lords; he also published, with appropriate strictures, the protest in the English House in 1719, against the then assumption of that authority.

All this very naturally attracted attention, and drew down upon Lucas the hostility of the Government. To add to the number of his foes, he alluded in his writings, in the severest terms, to the Lord Lieutenant, Harrington; and inveighed against the abuses of the city authorities, the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen. Thus he contrived to unite all parties against him, and they were quick and decided in their proceedings. The grand juries of the county, and of the city of Dublin, presented his addresses as libels on the Lord Lieutenant—as "tending to promote insurrection, and as justifying the bloody rebellion raised in Ireland;" and they ordered his writings to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The Attorney-General also filed an information against him, for the same supposed offences for which he had been presented by the several grand juries, upon the charge of the Chief Justice. The House of Commons resolved that his writings were seditious, and that he was an enemy to his country; that he be arrested by the Speaker's warrant, and committed to gaol;—and, not being able to discover him, they requested the Lord Lieutenant to issue his proclamation for his apprehension. Finally, the Corporation disfranchised him—in gross violation of their own rules and institution. Several of the citizens, however, more spirited than the rest, opposed this violence, and proceeded to call their ancient court of *Darrien*

Hundred; but they were dispersed by the Lord Mayor, who threatened to call in the military.

Yet all these efforts, numerous as they were, failed either to subdue or silence the object of their unjust vengeance.

Lucas took refuge in England; and, compelled to fly from the country whose rights and liberties he had asserted, he appealed to the people of both islands against such unexampled oppression, and dated his address from Westminster, "*the present place of my pilgrimage*, 1750."

The active mind of Lucas did not suffer him to remain quiet. He now applied himself to his profession, and practised as physician; and being well skilled in that profession, he quickly obtained reputation. His treatise on the Bath waters, was much esteemed. He also obtained much business by his popularity. He was the medical adviser, as well as the personal friend, of the Earl of Charlemont.

Lucas remained an exile from 1749 to 1760, when he returned to his native country, in consequence of a '*noli prosequi*' from the crown; and a dissolution of Parliament having taken place on the death of George II., he was chosen one of the Members to represent the city of Dublin, in 1761. This latter event was Lucas's final triumph over his enemies; but it was also his "journey's end"—"the seamark of his utmost sail." He did not acquire any political reputation by his return: he established his innocence, but exposed his ambition.

In 1763, Lucas brought in a bill to limit the duration of Parliament; and, in 1764, a bill to secure the freedom of Parliament. He also supported Mr. Pery's motions against the improper grants of pensions.

Lucas possessed a fine figure, and a grave, respectable bearing; and though he was obliged to speak sitting (having lost the use of his limbs through illness,) he presented a commanding and a striking appearance. He had a rich, mellow voice; and his accents pleased the ear. His tones were smooth and soft, and peculiarly suited to the complaining mood in which he so often addressed the House. But he had a bad manner, and a meagre phraseology. His great fault was, that he attacked persons and authority, in order to acquire popularity.

Lucas possessed all the qualities of a tribune; he especially belonged to that *order*, in every sense of the word—in mind, in manners, and in style of speaking. Bold, active, and turbulent; querulous and ambitious; quarrelsome, yet timid; he was always ready to spread out to the people a perpetual catalogue of their calamities and their wrongs. To say a *severe* thing, he would sacrifice his dearest attachment; he dealt in inferior satire; and whether friends or foes, he attacked all, without due regard to strict justice, and without sufficient talent to redeem this error.

These were not, perhaps, the best methods to

obtain the object he professed to have in view. But the people at that period required to be roused by strong applications of this sort; and the result was, that without the knowledge, acquirements, and the natural talents of many others of his day, he attempted more than any man, and *did* more. In fact, notwithstanding all his defects, Dr. Lucas did great public good. He may be considered as the first who instituted in Ireland that powerful engine of popular rights—the press. He deserves, on this account alone, a high place in the history of his country—a higher one than he will perhaps attain; for mankind are too nice in their criticism, and forget that he lived in the dawn of Irish freedom.

Lucas's style was not elevated, nor his invective refined; for he had been accustomed to use it against the city aldermen, and with better success than in the House of Commons. When he moved the Septennial Bill, at the commencement of his speech the entire House was against him; but when he sat down, they were all his friends. Yet his opposition was indiscriminate and habitual, and he had little weight in consequence. Nothing would please him. There was no measure that the Administration adopted, that he did not oppose.

One day, upon entering the House, Lucas asked what was doing. A Member told him the House had resolved an address to the Lord Lieutenant,

praying that he would provide for the chaplain. "Oh, oh!" exclaimed Lucas, "Most atrocious!"

Lucas tried various points of attack, with various success. He was more fortunate in his attack upon his colleague, the Recorder, Mr. James Grattan, than upon others. The Recorder was not a popular character. He opposed the Septennial Bill; and being connected with the Corporation, Lucas had double cause for his opposition, and alluding to him ironically, he said, "He who is so *sure* of being returned for the city—he who has the voice of the people of Dublin with him"—upon this the Recorder lost his temper, and got up to call Lucas to order. Lucas, who had a great deal of self-possession, in a plain voice replied, "If I am out of order, I will unsay all I have said. Well, then, the Recorder of the city of Dublin—who is so certain of *not* being returned at the next election—he who has the voice of the people directly *against* him." This caused much laughter, at the expense of the Recorder, and gave Lucas a victory.

He was not, however, so fortunate with Hutchinson. He said something that offended that personage, who, after a severe reply, concluded by saying of him—"Ready to wound, but yet afraid to strike — a shattered understanding, a warm head, and a cold heart."

This description was not just; still less was

it generous towards Lucas, who had espoused from the outset the cause of his country—had persevered in his attachment, and suffered martyrdom, while others, and among them Hutchinson, had opposed the measures for her relief, and had been rewarded with office, place, and pension. But never was any one more confounded than Lucas was by this reply. He could not gain self-possession enough to answer it, and he had recourse to fighting instead, calling in aid his courage to prove the defect of his understanding.

Hutchinson was a brave man, and did not care how long he fought; but Lucas had been habituated to the city, and though possibly not deficient in courage, he had certainly no strong disposition to the field. He, however, made a judicious selection of a second, in Mr. Adderly, who had no idea whatever of danger, and was determined that the doctor should have none either. Accordingly, he kept Lucas with him, and would not allow him to return to his wife. Lucas, however, who had lost the use of his legs, determined to fight with a very long sword, which he chose for the occasion. Mr. Adderly also provided him with a case of pistols, and thus doubly prepared him for the encounter. The matter, however, was adjusted by the seconds, to the satisfaction of all parties.

Lucas's writings, though diffuse and devoid of style, yet contain the true principles of govern-

ment. His recital of the Irish charter, and the historical facts connected with his country, which were neither known nor permitted to be promulgated in those times, show his research no less than his spirit. The following is a passage from the address that was considered so dangerous and seditious, and countenancing the horrid Irish insurrection. After setting forth the charter granted by Henry and John, he proceeds to say:—"The firm and intimate connection of the two kingdoms of England and Ireland, under one common head, gave them one common interest,—mutual, inseparable, and unalterable. They must now stand and fall together; for each must inevitably be affected by the good and evil fortune of the other. Whoever with an eye of truth and liberty considers this matter, must think it the invariable interest, as well as duty, of England and Ireland, to look upon each other in this light. Though from their separate situations as islands, as well as from their distinct establishments, they have separate and distinct legislatures, yet should neither attempt to do or suffer any thing to be done that may prove in any degree injurious to the other. This makes it as unjust as impolitic, for one kingdom to contend with the other for superiority in jurisdiction or legislature over the other, as it would be for either House of Parliament in one nation to oppose and contend with the other; or as it would be for the right hand

to quarrel with or oppose the left, merely because it was stronger. Neither is strong enough to *stand* long alone, nor equally firm and secure without as with the other. One cannot therefore be safe when the other is weakened; nor can it so well subsist in freedom when the other is destroyed."

Such was the doctrine recommended; yet the author was accused and banished for those works, which were construed into an attempt to stir up animosity and discord between the two kingdoms! His punishment is a proof that he was in the right, and shows how much the Parliament and Government required to be reformed, that could proceed to such violent and unconstitutional measures.

If judged by events, Lucas stands high; if by his personal conduct it is otherwise; but he must ever be remembered in the history of his country, and regarded as the assertor of her liberties against that country and against England.

Lucas died in Nov. 1771, at the age of fifty-eight. The following account of his death and his character, which was given at the time, though rather flattering, yet merits attention:—

"Doctor Lucas was a gentleman of unblemished honour; as a physician, eminent, charitable, and humane; as a senator, unbiassed in judgment, inviolable in conduct, and incorruptible in integrity.

"In 1749 he was called an enemy to his country by a venal majority of the most abandoned Parliament. He

became an exile for having merited the thanks and approbation of all his fellow-subjects. Several years elapsed, during which he improved his medical knowledge, and became eminent in his profession. In 1761, he returned to his native country, in consequence of a *noli prosequi* from his present Majesty, and a vacancy happening for the city of Dublin, by dissolution on the death of the late King, he was elected member for the city of Dublin. In his public duty, firmness, intrepidity, and integrity, were his characteristics. He loved his country, he detested tyranny; no threats could terrify, no bribes could purchase him. He received a public funeral. The students of Trinity College, and the children of the hospitals and parishes attended. The supporters were Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Flood, Mr. Hussy Burgh, Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Adderly, Sir Lucius O'Brien, Lord Charlemont, the Marquis of Kildare, and others of the nobility and the gentry as mourners, and the city officers, the mayor, the corporation, and several minor guilds, attended his remains to St. Michael's Church."

CHAPTER VI.

Lord Halifax. — Single-speech Hamilton. — Poyning's Law. — Lord Townsend appointed Lord Lieutenant. — His measures against the Irish Aristocracy.—Weakness of the people.—Corrupt influence.—Arbitrary measures of Government.—Lord Townsend's Protest.—Parliament re-assembled.—Its servile conduct.—Consequent resignation of the Speaker Ponsonby.—Its good results.—Mr. Pery chosen Speaker.—His character.—And influence.—His great services to Ireland.—His tact in debate.—His Corn Laws.—His modus for Tithe.—His measure for arming Ireland.—His claims as a Speaker.—His strict political integrity.—His conduct in the House of Lords.

Lord Halifax was the first lord-lieutenant of George III. His secretary was William Gerard Hamilton, known by the name of *single-speech Hamilton*, having made one splendid speech, which he left unequalled ever after. His first measure was a proposal to raise six regiments of Irish Roman Catholics, amounting to 3,000 men, to be officered by Catholics, and to be taken into the pay of an ally, Portugal. He proposed this in a long and excellent speech; but the measure met with so much opposition from the Protestant

party, where prejudices and fears still existed, that it was ultimately given up by the Government.

The next proceeding of this administration was the arbitrary construction put upon the law of Poynings. The act of Henry VII., passed in a Parliament held at Drogheda, called after the deputy (Sir Edward Poynings), directed that no parliament should be held in Ireland, until the reasons for convening it were certified to England by the governor and council. The bills intended to be passed were set forth, and sent by the Irish Privy Council to that of England, and all bills, except money bills, originated in the Irish Privy Council, and under the Great Seal of Ireland, were transmitted to England, where they could either be altered or suppressed. Then under the Great Seal of England they were returned to Ireland, and were submitted to both Houses of Parliament. This was a cumbrous and circuitous domination, adopted in unsettled times, and intended to prevent the Irish deputies from passing laws through interested motives, or under frivolous pretences, and giving them the royal assent without the knowledge of the sovereign. Such was the object of the law, but the construction put upon it was different, and it was contended that the Parliament had no right to propose or debate on anything not certified from

England. Heads of bills, as they were called, were proposed and discussed, however, in the Commons, for the purpose of being sent to England, and the power of propounding was retained, though that of legislating was in part lost.

At the commencement of the reign of George III. it was thought expedient to attack the system of oligarchy, that had legislated for the country, doubtless, unfortunately, but not so unfortunately as to prevent the British Ministry from being jealous of its efforts at patriotism; conceiving, as they did, that it was growing into an Irish faction against the British Government, as it had been fabricated to form a court faction against the Irish nation.

The English Ministry listened without objection to the solicitations of Charles Townsend in favour of his brother, and appointed Lord Townsend to the office of Lord Lieutenant. He was a Whig; and by no means a bad man, as a private individual; but as a governor, he was indecent, boisterous, and corrupt. The British Ministry, that were not to be withstood by any opposition or scruple in England, were much less to be opposed by the presumptuous authority of any association in Ireland, and Lord Townsend came over to the country to annihilate its consequence. It was a matter of indifference whether resistance came from the integrity of the Commons, or the unreasonable ambition of the nobles. To destroy Irish consideration, was his object; and his first exer-

tions were against an Irish aristocracy,—a species of government culpable in theory, and whose conduct has been unfortunate in Ireland. If the question had been between the aristocratic and democratic branches, no one could have hesitated, and all would have desired the transition of power into the scale of the latter; and the practicability only was the point in question. But men doubted whether a people like the Irish, without extensive commerce, without a great proportion in the property of the kingdom, were sufficiently mature in prosperity to come in the place of a falling aristocracy. It was to be apprehended that the country gentleman would not acquire weight, but rather might lose his independence, by becoming the immediate object of corruption. Men recollected that, upon the most disadvantageous ground, opposed to the union of nobility and people, the solitary phalanx of Government had often disputed every inch of victory; and they feared that when that nobility was destroyed, Government might be irresistible. They thought that aristocracy was better than the absolute influence of monarchy—and a native aristocracy, than tha of a remote monarchy. *

* "There is almost a civil war between the Lord Lieutenant and the Primate * on one side (observe I don't tell you what that is), and the Speaker † on the other, who carries questions by wholesale in the House of Commons against the Castle; reams of scandalous verses and

* Primate Stone, the leader of one of the political parties.

† Henry Boyle, Earl of Shannon.

The families of Leinster, the Ponsonbys, Lord Shannon, Primate Stone, and others, had long contended, divided, and ruled the country. They formed, perhaps, not the best aristocracy, but a very good aristocracy to oppose the Government; and by no other party could their bad measures have been opposed. The people were too weak, and the representatives of the people too corrupt; Doctor Lucas, Mr. Malone, Mr. Pery, Mr. Flood, and Mr. Burgh had tried, and in vain; the tide of courtly power and of British influence was too strong to be resisted; unconditional submission was required; there was no parley; there was no pardon. At the outset of the reign of George III. Mr. Malone was dismissed from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, without ceremony and without pension, merely because, according to his conscience and his oath, he had in Council opposed an altered money bill, and contended for the rights and privileges of the Commons.

In 1768, Government created a number of places. Then they divided the Boards of Customs and Excise, and increased the Commissioners of Revenue, for the avowed purpose of influencing Members of Parliament. It was said that half a million was expended in this way, to which allu-

ballads are come over, too bad to send you. What is more provoking for the Duke of Dorset, an address has come over directly to the king (not as usual through the channel of the Lord Lieutenant), to assure him of their great loyalty, and apprehension of being misrepresented."—*Horace Walpole's Correspondence: Letter to George Montagu.*

sion is made in Mr Grattan's speeches and pamphlets.

Government then proceeded to originate a Privy Council Money Bill; thus taking from the representatives of the people the right to dispose of their own money; and when the House of Commons had spirit enough in 1769 to reject the money bill that had been altered in England, the Chief Governor, Lord Townshend, entered his protest against the proceedings, and prorogued Parliament, after passing merely the money bills which provided for the augmentation of the army to 15,000 men, of which 12,000 were in future to be constantly kept up in Ireland.*

Such a measure, adopted by the executive power, and which had not either a practical or deliberate voice, was illegal in its origin; taking cognizance of a resolution of the Commons not presented to Government, and therefore entirely domestic, the protest was unconstitutional; and

* In the British House of Commons notice was taken of Lord Townshend's conduct, and a motion was made by Mr. Boyle Walsingham, seconded by Mr. Constantine Phipps, with a view to censure him; Lord North (who was then Minister) opposed it, however, with success. Lord Chatham considered that thus limiting the number of troops to be employed in Ireland, was an invasion of the prerogative of the crown; he said it was "*tearing the master feather from the Eagle's wing.*"—The law was not, however, observed by the Government in Ireland, for they increased and diminished the number of troops, just as they thought proper. When the French threatened to invade the country, they left her without any; and when the Minister threatened to invade the constitution, they poured in above 100,000.

condemning, as contrary to the court interpretation of Poyning's law, a resolution which was not reconcileable to it, the protest was false in its assertion, and wanton in its censure. The interpretation, too, of the law, was erroneous; for the spirit of the reign of Henry VII. was to advance the Commons, in order to weaken the party, among whom were the Viceroy and his Council. The spirit of the law was, to guard against, and not to empower, either; to make the king a medium of intelligence, and not the originator of the law.

The Viceroy's speech, which he termed a protest, was entered on the journals of the Lords; five peers alone having recorded their dissent, denying his right to do so. The Commons had ordered their clerk not to make any entry without their directions, and the speech does not appear on their journals. The document is curious, and deserves to be recorded.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—When I first met you in Parliament, as I knew and could rely upon it that nothing could move from His Majesty, but what would be expressive of his constant and ardent desire to maintain and preserve every constitutional right to his people, I little thought that any thing would happen, during the course of this session, that could possibly affect the just rights of His Majesty and of the crown of Great Britain, so as to afford His Majesty any just cause of dissatisfaction, and make it necessary for me, specially, to assert and vindicate those rights.

It is therefore with great concern that I have seen and observed in the votes and journals of the House of Commons, printed by your order, a late proceeding by you, of such a nature and of such effect, with respect to the rights of his Majesty and the crown of Great Britain, as to make it necessary for me, on this day, and in this place, to take notice of and animadvert thereupon: I mean the vote and resolution of the first day of November last, by which you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, declare, that a Bill intituled An Act for granting to His Majesty the several Duties, Rates, Impositions and Taxes, therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the said principal sums, in such manner as is therein directed; which had been duly certified from hence to His Majesty, and by His Majesty, had been transmitted in due form under the great seal of Great Britain, and which had been read a first time by you, and which was rejected by you on that day, was so rejected, because it did not take its rise in your house.

This vote and this resolution of yours, declaring that the said bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in your house, being contrary to the acts of parliament of this kingdom, of the 10th of Henry the VIIth, and the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, and the usage and practice ever since, and entrenching upon the just rights of His Majesty and the Crown of Great Britain, to transmit such bills to be treated of and considered in parliament here; I am now to assert His Majesty's royal authority and the rights of the Crown of Great Britain in this respect, and in such a manner as may be most public and permanent; and therefore, I do here in full parliament make my public protest against the said vote and resolution of the House of Commons, by which you, Gentlemen of that House, de-

clare that the said bill was rejected by you, because it did not take its rise in your house, and against the entries of the said vote and resolution which remain in the journals in the House of Commons: and I do require the clerk of this house now to read my said protest, and to enter it in the journals of this House, that it may there remain to future ages as a vindication of the undoubted right and authority of His Majesty, and of the rights of the Crown of Great Britain in this particular.

In this protest I think myself warranted in all respects, and if it needed, as I conceive it doth not, any other strength than that which it derived from the statutes which I have mentioned, and from the usage and practice ever since, it would be found in that precedent which appears in the journals of this House of the 3d day of November, 1692, under the reign of that glorious and immortal prince King William the Third, the great deliverer of these kingdoms, and the constant and magnanimous assertor and preserver of the civil and religious rights of mankind."

The laws expiring, the nation addressing, and distress daily approaching, were strong reasons, but not the motive, for calling the parliament. If the Viceroy could be sure of a sanction from that assembly in his favor, he thought he could set opposition at defiance, and display to England a proud certificate. Accordingly, he applied to the usual artifices; he debauched by places; he gulled by promises; and in February 1771, he assembled parliament.

The people were naturally alive to this critical period; anxious to know what violent, but justi-

fiable resolutions, what moderate, but intrepid measure would be adopted, to represent the grievances and re-assert the loyalty of Ireland. But unfortunately, in the parliament of those days, it happened that when the people were most indignant, their ardour was contradicted by the composure of the senate. The storm which wrecked the nation had no effect on the parliament. A steady majority took its obsequious station in the harbour of the court, and heard no cries, and understood no grievances; so that notwithstanding the insult offered to the country and the parliament, by the protest and prorogation, the Viceroy contrived to procure addresses from both houses, thanking His Majesty for continuing him in the government; "as from his approved integrity, long knowledge and experience of them and their sentiments, they were persuaded a just representation would be made of their loyalty and duty to the best of princes."

This servile address was carried by 132 to 107; but Mr. John Ponsonby, rather than be the instrument of conveying such extravagant flattery and falsehood, addressed a letter to the House of Commons, on the 4th March, 1771, and resigned the office of Speaker. He stated, "that when he had the honour of being unanimously elected to the Speaker's chair, he entered on that high office, full of the warmest sentiments of loyalty to His Majesty, and a firm determination to dedicate his

whole endeavours to preserve and transmit to his successor, inviolate, the rights and privileges of the Commons of Ireland. But that on the last day on the last session of parliament, His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant was pleased to accuse the Commons of a great crime, which he was confident was as far from their intentions as from his—'that of intrenching upon His Majesty's royal power and authority, and the just and undoubted rights of the crown of Great Britain.' And, that, as it had pleased the House of Commons to take the first opportunity, after this transaction, of testifying their approbation of His Excellency's conduct, by voting him an address of thanks this session, and that as the delivering such approbation to His Excellency is incidental to the office of Speaker, he begged leave to inform them, that as such thanks seemed to him to convey a censure of the proceedings and relinquishment of the privileges of the Commons, his respect to them must prevent his being the instrument of delivering such an address. And therefore, he requested the house may elect another Speaker, who may not think such conduct inconsistent with his honour."

This step on the part of Mr. Ponsonby, reflecting on him such high credit, and evincing such a high sense of honour, and such becoming spirit, was followed, most fortunately, by consequences very serviceable to the parliament and the country,

in the election of a successor. The choice fell upon Mr. Pery, who thereby acquired great influence in the house, and with the government, which he never failed to turn to the advantage of his country. What Swift says of a Speaker, was in a great degree applicable here :—" It is the smallest part of an able Speaker's business what he performs in the house, at least if he be in with the court."

Edmund Sexton Pery, Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards Lord Pery, came into Parliament in 1751. He had refused the office of Solicitor-General, which his friend, Mr. Gore (Lord Annaly) held. He possessed an acute, a bold, a capacious and a superior mind. Some men have a creative fancy; he had a creative judgment and sagacity. He saw many years farther into futurity than any other public man. He was an able politician, and much attached to Ireland. He advanced his country; he won the people by his speeches, and brought forth the resources of Ireland with great ability. In his speech at the bar of the Lords, in 1773, he laid the foundation for the freedom of her trade. A skilful leader, he knew how to advance and how to retire. He was one of the most honest men in existence; he never would have deceived any individual or any party; he never would have sacrificed a public object or a public principle. He was possessed of the rarest and greatest ac-

quirement a public man can wish for—a stern political fortitude that is proof against every temptation.

Pery was the original fountain of all the good that befel Ireland; her Corn Laws, her Tenantry Bill, her modus for Tithe, the independence of the Irish Parliament, and the Free Trade. He was one of the few men who really studied for the public good; this seemed to be his only object, and in this lay his exquisite art:—for he was a political chemist, and had the peculiar talent to diminish in any question the bad and increase the good quality; he had the strength of mind to encounter, or the sagacity to avoid, all difficulties. Men resorted to him as to an oracle, to consult and to advise; and men of both parties came to him, because they knew he had more sense than themselves. His advice was like the criticism of Horace; he gave it, but if you dissented, he did not press it.

The Tenantry Bill was formed with his assistance. On the formation of this bill, Mr. Burgh objected to some of the clauses. Mr. Pery did not defend them, but requested Mr. Burgh would try and make others. He tried and failed, and then stated that the bill had better stand as it was. There were two other bills drafted, but that which he interfered in was the only one that should have passed. The difficulty did not arise

from the nature of the bill, but of the House of Commons; and here the quickness of Mr. Pery was most useful:—in the debate in committee he carried it. Mr. Burgh, who had displayed on the occasion great principle and great talents, was rising to answer some of its opponents, and Mr. Pery, who was sitting by him, requested of him to have the question put instantly, and not to speak, because some persons had left the House, who, on their return, would have made a majority against the bill. The question was accordingly put and gained by a majority of three. Had it been delayed, Mr. Burgh would have answered the argument, and lost the question: he carried it by not defending it better.

Pery had an original understanding, and a confidence in its superiority that made him strike out a line for himself. Other men became courtiers and continued so; he did neither; he began with the Government in 1753, and he voted with them on the question of the previous consent; he concluded with the country, and not only supported the constitution, but was a principal instrument in establishing it.

Before his Corn Laws were introduced, the balance of import in corn was against Ireland; and after them it was in its favour: he it was who turned the tide; and his measure had this further merit, distinct from those which followed,—that it

was an original idea, seemingly paradoxical, and discovered to be beneficial, first by the sagacity of the framer,—next by the event.

On the subject of tithe—that fertile and ancient source of national disorder and distress—Pery formed a modus: it stands on the Journals of the House of Commons, and was moved by Mr. Pery. But there was another measure which crowned all the rest—which opened the way to all the good and all the glory that fell to the lot of Ireland; this was making Ireland an armed nation. He knew the grand secret of human nature, independence, and he advised the Government to give out the militia arms to the volunteers. *Unde Genus Latinum:* to these two measures of Mr. Pery—the armed volunteers, and the Corn Bill—Ireland owed her bread and her liberty. He it was, too, who framed the clause that regulated the augmentation of the army, and made the army parliamentary.

Pery's wisdom was distinguished by the character of boldness; he possessed the attribute which Macbeth gives to Banquo—"'tis much he dares;" also a prudence that rendered him invulnerable. He never overshot himself; and his counsel, like Minerva issuing from the head of Jupiter, was armed and full of wisdom.

Pery was, perhaps, the best speaker ever known in either House, or either kingdom; and he eminently possessed all the requisites for so im-

portant and painful a situation. He had a composure, a gravity, a dignity, and an unfailing attention. His quality of mind communicated itself even to his motions. Other men filled the office well, but he stood superior. He never heard any thing he should not hear, nor saw any thing he should not see. He could shut his eyes and close his ears, and be struck with a universal and most *seasonable palsy*, so that you could get nothing from him that ought not to be displayed. He knew that the greatest violation of order, is an attempt to alter the nature of a popular assembly; and he preserved it precisely as much as its nature required.

In speaking, his manner was feeling, grave, and dignified; in what he said, he was brief and substantial. His addresses appear on the journals, and are drawn up with great ability. He was never declamatory; the strongest and boldest opinions and sentiments he uttered in the calmest manner; so that courage seemed the ordinary temperature of his mind, and not an effort.

Pery decided the question in 1772, which came to the vote of the chair, against the division of the Boards of Revenue, and nobly availed himself of the opportunity to vindicate the privileges of the House of Commons. They had resolved that an increase of the Commissioners of Revenue was not required; but in despite of this vote, Government augmented them from seven to

eleven. It was then proposed that whoever advised that measure had acted contrary to the sense of the House. The numbers were equal, 106 for and against; it came to the casting voice of the Speaker, who resented the insult that had been offered to the House, and said, "This is a question which involves the privileges of the Commons of Ireland. The noes have opposed the privilege; the noes have been wrong—let the privileges of the Commons of Ireland stand unimpeached; therefore I say the ayes have it!"

Pery's eye kindled as he spoke; and his elevated manner and tone were dignified and impressive. They were felt around, and the effect he produced was long remembered.

Lord Townshend, who was faithful to his plan for dividing and destroying the aristocracy, used every effort to seduce men from the popular cause, and on one occasion, Mr. Pery found the effect of those exertions. He had joined with a party, on certain constitutional principles; and it was agreed that they should strictly adhere to, and act by them, as the only principles on which they would accept office; and in order to carry their object, it was settled that they were only to accept office all together. They all violated the compact, with the exception of Mr. Pery. He still considered himself bound by it. He went to them, and told them, "You have broken your engagement, you have released me, but I shall still consider

myself bound; I will adhere to the compact, I will not take office, but I will never have any thing more to say to you." Lord Belvedere was one of those individuals.

Pery was not only proof against corruption, but against resentment. The love of power, the love of patronage, to which the most immaculate politicians have yielded, had, with him, neither weight nor attraction. He well knew that no man could long be Minister in Ireland, who was not a tool or a tyrant. He knew the unreality of that situation, in which the people expect more than they ought, and yet their idol cannot give them even what they have a right to expect; that situation where a man is likely to encounter the hatred of two parties—his enemies and his friends.

Pery was one of the few instances in which an Irishman stood superior to such perilous vanity. He knew well how to extricate himself from popularity, and from confidence. He never was extremely popular, and therefore the people never turned upon him; so that he never gave them an opportunity of showing any of their infirmities. It was the same with respect to Government. After the period beforementioned, he had no connection with the Government, and had nothing to say either to their follies or their crimes. He considered it below the first commoner of the kingdom to be one of the servants of the crown, and was superior to the ambition of being a minister of the

king, or a leader of the people; and felt no temptation to violate the neutrality of his situation.

On the whole, Pery's conduct affords a useful lesson to politicians, that if *they* mean to serve their country, they should keep clear of party, and more especially of a ministerial party; and that they should be on their guard, not merely against the influence of money, but against the still stronger influence of the vanity arising from confidence, and that position which exposes even the best to be led away.

In private, Pery was a charming person; it was impossible not to love him. His voice was singularly melodious; and, like his manner, it pleased, captivated, and delighted. In his countenance there was talent and address.

Perhaps it was to be regretted that subsequently in the Lords, he did not take a part,—at least in their judicial proceedings. He would have preserved that unfortunate assembly from many errors, and have deprived it of some of the strongest arguments that it adduced to establish its incapacity. He possessed a dignity that Malone wanted, and would have stood where Malone would have sunk; but he had not so vigorous nor so strong a mind as Malone's, though it was more active and more acute; he possessed, also, a species of courage that Malone wanted. Malone was powerful in statement; though his reasoning and his legal knowledge were not very great. Hutchinson

would have made a more splendid oration—Malone a better argument—and Pery would have surpassed both, in both particulars. There was not, at that period, the fine eloquence of later days. The age was not so refined, nor the style so polished, or so perfect. But they were great times, and these were great men; and for the honour of posterity, it must be said that, in the finest time of his country, Lord Pery acted well. If he was not perfect, it is only because no statesman is perfect. But, for a young man, Lord Pery was the model. I do not know whether his name will descend to posterity; but if it does not, it is because his country, having lost her parliamentary constitution, does not now afford a mansion ample enough for his reputation.

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Grattan at the Temple.—His character of Lord Chatham.—Letter to Mr. Broome.—Death of Mr. Grattan's sister.—Mr. Grattan at Windsor Forest—his eccentric habits.—Judge Day's account of him at this period.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome.—The same to the same.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Robert Day.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Robert Day.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome.—The same to the same.—Death of Mr. Grattan's mother.—Colonel Marlay to Mr. Grattan.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome.—Mr. Grattan's grief at the loss of his mother.

In 1767 Mr. Grattan went to London, and was entered in Michaelmas Term as student of the Middle Temple. The absurd and useless form of sending Irishmen to London in order to qualify them to practise at the bar in Ireland, is one of the badges of servitude long worn by the people of that country. It has no recommendation in point of principle, and is only to be excused inasmuch as it takes the young mind from a narrow and prejudiced locality, and tends to make it

expand in a freer region, where liberty is more prevalent, and where the doctrines enforced in a colony cease to contaminate. Yet the practice is not without its dangerous concomitants. Youth, at its most vigorous and tempting period, is left to range in the greatest capital in the world, free from restraint, and amidst pleasures and allurements of every kind; for as to studying law at the age of twenty-one in London, that seldom seriously occupies the mind or the time of any Templar.

Mr. Grattan's tendencies were of a different sort; the pursuits he followed were of a nobler nature. The galleries of the House of Commons, and the bar of the Lords, had for him greater attractions than the pleasures of the metropolis; and to them he devoted his evenings in listening, his nights in recollecting, and his days in copying the great orators of the time. Lord Chatham was his chief attraction; the splendour, the original boldness of style, the impassioned bursts of oratory, and the dramatic delivery, made great impression on Mr. Grattan; and he then drew the celebrated character* of that individual, which has been so often alluded to.

The following is dated at the period now referred to:—

* See Mr. Grattan's Miscellaneous Works, and the Preface to his Speeches, vol. 1.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

London, November 3, 1767.

After a shameful silence for so many weeks, I sit down with a dissipated head and a bad pen, to write to the best friend I have in the world. I have left retirement, but have not left myself: the same despondency, the same fermentation of mind,—'*miseros tumultus animi*,' the Roman poet would have called them,—depress and agitate me with alternate distraction. The consciousness of this intellectual anarchy is an additional disease; it makes me repine,but cannot reform me. I am determining to form a plan of life totally new, and to break through every obstacle that would impede it. Some other conceit may fritter this new creation, and drive me upon some other rock, where I may receive a similar shipwreck.

I dined with Macaulay yesterday. We talked much of you. Your health I particularly inquired after, and cannot say I am perfectly satisfied about it. That languor, that occasional fever, that attend you of late, make me condemn your indolence, that rather waits for the departure of the disorder than drives it away. Our friend Macaulay seems happy in the connubial state; he speaks as a man attached and contented, and like a missionary of Hymen, preaches his dominion to all. I am too well acquainted with my own inequalities, as well as too poor to receive the yoke, and become a votarist even in so chaste a cause. You and I, in this, as in most other things, perfectly agree; we think marriage an artificial, not a natural institution, and imagine woman too frail a bark for so long and so tempestuous a voyage as that of life. I long infinitely to argue with you upon matters of philosophy. My principles, when we parted, had got a little the start

of your's in eccentricity; though the precept of the world would recal me, its conduct confirms my deviation. I have become an epicurean philosopher; consider this world as our '*ne plus ultra*,' and happiness as our great object in it. The sensualities, the vices, the insignificance, and the pursuits of mankind, are arguments in favour of this conviction. To a man steeped in vice, and therefore alarmed by fear, such philosophy would be influence; but to one who is neither devoted to vice, nor afraid of its penalties, I fear it is REASON. Such a subject is too extensive and too dangerous for a letter; in our privacy we shall dwell on it more copiously. I find it is vain to solicit you from your native country, though health as well as friendship might be relieved by such an excursion. I shall, therefore, endeavour to visit you, since you will not visit me, and if it be in my power I shall go to Ireland the beginning of the next month, or more likely the latter end of this. I hope you may be in Dublin at that time, as you are the most flattering contemplation I have in my projected return.

Yours ever,

HENRY GRATTAN.

In 1767, Mr. Grattan lost his sister Catherine, whom he most loved. His feelings, on this occasion, were those of intense grief; and he wrote upon her death, in a strain of the most passionate and despairing affection. His sorrow for her loss, and his love for the country, led him from the scenes of London. He chose the spot that Pope has immortalized in verse; and took up his abode at Sunning Hill, near Windsor Forest. His delight was to ramble through the groves and green

retreats of that charming solitude. His passion in the country—his perpetual pursuit—was politics. His mind was wholly engrossed with their object; he thought of nothing else; and his attendance on both Houses of Parliament seemed to have rivetted his mind to the subject.

Mr. Grattan's manner at this time was so singular, that at one of the places where he resided with his friend Day, the landlady imagined, not only that he was an eccentric character, but that he was deranged; and she complained to one of his friends that the gentleman used to walk up and down in her garden most of the night, speaking to himself; and, though alone, he was addressing some one on all occasions by the name of "Mr. Speaker;" that it was not possible he could be in his senses, and she begged they would take him away; and that if they did, she would forgive him all the rent that was due!

A letter that I have received from his friend Day, gives a more exact account of his manner of living and his occupation at that period. Having applied to him regarding some question on the Declaration of Rights, he very kindly replied as follows:—

MR. DAY TO MR. GRATTAN.

Loughlinstown House, May 28, 1838.

My dear Grattan,

On the subject of your inquiry I cannot, after such a lapse of years, be capable to afford you any important

information. Both natives of the same country, I had the honour of a familiar acquaintance with Lord Shelburne, then [1782] Prime Minister, and aware that I was a zealous volunteer and the delegate from that county [Kerry], to the National Convention, my much-lamented friend selected me for the channel of communication with his lordship on the vital question which then agitated Ireland. I can never forget the distinguished courtesy and complacency with which his lordship received the question and its bearer, and I have not a doubt that he took up the subject with the feelings of an Irishman and the anxiety of a sincere patriot.

But the success of that measure, as well as the originating of it, was mainly, if not altogether, owing to the eloquence and talents of Grattan, who from earliest life repudiated with indignation the dependence of the Irish Parliament, and resolved to assert even by arms, if driven to them, the liberties of Ireland. On that subject you cannot possess any authority now, or at any time living, equal to mine. I had the happiness and privilege of his bosom friendship, without an hour's interruption, to the day of his sad death, from our cotemporaneous life in college, where he soon distinguished himself by a brilliant elocution, a tenacious memory, and abundance of classical acquirement. He always took great delight in frequenting the galleries, first of the Irish, and then of the English House of Commons, and the bars of the Lords. You probably possess his brilliant character of Lord Chatham, whom he adored; indeed, on referring to your works, I find it set out, *in extenso*, to use a pedantic expression.

We lived in the same chambers in the Middle Temple, and took a house in Windsor Forest, commanding a beautiful landscape; he delighted in romantic scenery. Between both, we lived together three or four years, the happiest period of my life. I am angry, that in your

introductory life of him you are altogether silent of those years, so variegated and full of adventure and enterprise. However, I admit that it could not be expected, or even desired, that in so brief a sketch you should have noticed much of his private history.

When we resided in Windsor Forest, he would spend whole moonlight nights rambling and losing himself in the thickest plantations. He would sometimes pause and address a tree in soliloquy, thus preparing himself early for that assembly which he was destined in later life to adorn. One morning he amused us at breakfast, with an adventure of the night before, in the forest. In one of those midnight rambles he stopped at a gibbet, and commenced apostrophizing the chains in his usual animated strain, when he suddenly felt a tap on his shoulder, and on turning about, was accosted by an unknown person—"How the devil did you get down?" To which the rambler calmly replied—"Sir, I suppose you have an interest in that question!"

These observations, I fear, will appear to you a crude effusion, but certainly not cold; they are warm from the heart. I greedily seize any occasion that crosses my path, of dilating on the virtues and much-honoured memory, of my lost and most attached friend.

Ever faithfully yours,

ROB. DAY.*

* "It was at the Temple that he got acquainted with Dr. Duigenan. I introduced them to each other; and Duigenan, thinking to please Grattan, commenced a furious phillippic against Dr. Lucas, knowing that his father, (the Recorder) had been his great opponent. Grattan defended Lucas, and thought he had been harshly treated by the Irish parliament. The conversation grew warm; the parties differed on those important subjects, the prerogative and the people. Grattan replied, and I was afraid he would have attacked Duigenan. However, they parted, and in the evening, Grattan came to the Grecian, where we used

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Sunning Hill, Jan. 13th, 1768.

MY DEAR BROOME,

I received your letter this day; it gave me great pleasure, and at the same time pain. Happy to hear from my friend, I am afflicted at the feeble state in which he represents himself. I have left London some time, rather to be studious than sociable; my society is well-tempered, rather than contemplative, and had made my exile agreeable, but for a melancholy event which has lately impaired my family happiness, and the bad tidings of your health, that impairs the comforts that arise from friendship: the event I speak of, you probably heard—the death of a sister, whom I loved extremely. I introduced you to her the day before we separated. Her goodness, her manners, her accomplishments, entitled her to the highest regard. I never knew dispositions more amiable, or an understanding better regulated; the most disinterested friendship, the warmest affection, and the meekest gentleness united in her composition; her death was sudden, and overtook the account of her sickness. My sister, who waited on her in her last moments, gave a minute and a melancholy account of them. She retained her senses to the last, languished with the most resigned patience, and expired with the calmest fortitude. As I write this mournful narrative, I can scarce refrain from tears; there was a time I could not think of her death with moderation; I now think myself criminal for sustaining it so tranquilly. I say my happiness

to meet, with a long sword by his side. Duigenan did not make his appearance, but he wrote a poem criticizing Grattan's figure, with his long sword. It was comical, and I showed it to your father, who was amused by the humorous turn, and so the affair ended. Perhaps it was owing to this trifling incident, that the animosity was engendered, which displayed itself afterwards throughout Duigenan's character and conduct."

is invaded by these sad events, and I am taught to believe, my departure from Ireland was a separation for ever. I am glad you study; application is at once a relief and improvement. The book you speak of I will read, convinced to find entertainment from what you recommend so strongly. Our friend Macaulay is married; the lady is a Miss Murphy, of a Jamaica extraction, as well as of estate. She is just of age, sensible, but not beautiful; possesses an income of five hundred pounds a year. I have not as yet seen her, but have received this information.

As the fortune is in another country, it is impossible to ascertain it; it is reported more than I have informed you, I believe 'tis near as much. Farewell; heaven bless you! Your participation can uphold me against any misfortunes, and without it I know of no prosperity that could make me happy. I have lost a sister; to lose my best, my oldest, my most passionate friend, would be an addition to misery scarce supportable. I am scarce yet sufficiently inured to affliction, to bear such an aggravation of it with philosophic patience. I have learned, from a familiarity with death, to look on it amicably; the loss of you would make me think it desirable. I shall never have, never desire a second friend like you, and if we must separate for ever, I should desire death as a comfortable oblivion. I curse our distance, that puts it out of my power to see you, to assist you, to hear from you, and dread the anxious interval between the enquiry and the information.

Afflicted and disturbed, I write this page after the family have retired. I find the moments gloomy and disconsolate, and suggesting the most uncomfortable feelings —affliction for one friend that I have lost, and fear for another that is in danger. Once more, heaven bless you! If we meet again we shall be happy; if not, I shall remember you to my dying moments, convinced that I can never

have a friend I love so well, or lose a friend I should regret so much.

Your's most affectionately,
HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO THE SAME.

Sunning Hill, February 25th, 1768.

I received your letter with more satisfaction, and remain in less anxiety than hitherto. I am glad that sink of prostitution, the Irish Parliament, is to be drained octennially. This will controul it, if it cannot amend, and may improve what is in the last stage of putrefaction, and cannot change without being bettered.

Hutchinson resembles the setting sun, and throws a lustre on the quarter he leaves; the rest of the old court party that have been corrupt—expediencers for so many ages—honour the cause they forsake; and, like the black train of physic, inform the neighbourhood of their patients' health, by their departure. The same bartering, the same venality, which you mention as commencing in Ireland, reigns in England with avowed dominion. The Corporation of Oxford has sold its representation. Being brought before the House of Commons, it made no defence, and being committed to jail, it sent a declaration of penitence, concluding at the same time that sale it was punished for attempting. This is astonishing; that no further penalty is inflicted on this bold prostituted body, is more so.

Do not expect news from me—retired in the country, I hear of none. The note of some bird, which the March wind scatters about, is the sound I am at present most accustomed to. As to re-visiting Ireland before I go to remain there, it is my intention; to see you, is not the least prevalent motive to this.

I am determined, if we live, to spend some time in the

country with you, and you only, that we may indulge that sympathy which distance and company are equal embarrasments to. In age our inequality is little; the differences less in fortune; and, I hope, in health, it will be nothing at all.

My sister's marriage makes me very happy; her husband's situation and character are highly eligible.*

Macaulay's connection, I hope, and I believe, is fortunate; but whenever marriage is in the case, I always rejoice that I am not the happy man.

Yours affectionately,
HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO ROBERT DAY, ESQ.

Sunning Hill, March 13th, 1768.

MY DEAR DAY,

I did hope to hear from you, or to see you; had you told me you could not come to the country, I should have left it; but as Lovett and Tydd were to depart immediately, I imagined solitude would have driven you here.

Have you heard anything about a house in the country? If you cannot hear of one close to the sea, some miles from it would make bathing exercise. The time approaches when it will be convenient to settle for the summer; if you cannot hear of one near the sea (of which success I have, I hope, ill-founded apprehensions), enquire about one not very far from London, and we will go together for some time to the sea, as an excursion. I shall go to London on Monday. I laid down a task, the breaking the neck of the law, as I called it; but have violated my resolution, and postponed my business.

I wonder you never wrote. I have been alone for three

* Mr. Bushe, member of the Irish Parliament. His three daughters were distinguished for their beauty, wit, and humour. One married the Bishop of Kilmore; another, Sir John Power; the third, John Scott, Dean of Lismore.

days, left to the head-ache and myself. Sam and his brothers are likely to agree; he will not, I fear, marry Anne; though she has been in the house with him, under the care of Mrs. Sawyer's* sister. We must go there for some time before we leave Sunning Hill, or he will imagine we are offended, as a report has gone out to that purpose. I shall say nothing of Irish politics, in order to leave you an apology.

Yours, most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

P. S.—If Tydd is in town, which I suppose he is not, tell him he is a bad fellow, and give my love to him. Remember my compliments to Lovett, and assure him I should be extremely obliged to him to let me have the parliamentary history for a month or two longer, unless he has the least occasion for it; assure him I shall take great care.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Sunning Hill, March 22nd, 1768.

Neither a disgust at the dissipations of London, nor a passion for solitude, have solely inclined me to this retreat at Sunning Hill; the difficulty to apply in London, and the encouragement to study in the country, have dictated this sanctuary. I find some moments melancholy enough, and study does not always relieve me; my nature, you know, is desponding; and my application not strenuous enough to fortify it. I wish ardently it may be in my power to see you before many years expire. I flatter myself you may come here; inclination is always ready to come to England, if power will second it;—and your letter gives me hopes you will soon have the latter, as I believe you long have had the former.

I know not whether to be most pleased at your reco-

* The individual at whose house they resided.

very, or anxious about its being complete; care, I am sure you will take for my sake, as well as your own.

In a few weeks I shall revisit London, and remain in it; it were happy for me, if I could find in it some few that were to my mind; a contrariety of dispositions, and of habits, obliges me often, either to forfeit society, or to sacrifice to it.

I know nothing of the town at present; and when I write to you, I write the language of my heart, not the style of a newspaper.

The country I am in, is most beautiful; there is an antiquity and wildness in the woodlands here, infinitely surpassing what I have met with. Whole tracts of country covered with nature, without the least interval of art: these are the forest of Windsor which Pope has sung of, with so much elegance, and which has been a sanctuary, as well as a theme, to the master of poetry.

Macaulay is in Ireland; have you seen him? His wife, I hear, is sensible; you have probably seen her, and can inform me.

I could wish you would call to see my mother and sisters; they mention to me that you called, and regret that they were not at home; they have a high esteem for you, and will be happy to see you. Have you been much with our old college set. Irwin * wrote to me some time ago, and I blush to recollect that I have not answered his letter; do you see him often? Remember me to him,and to Fitz-gibbon †, who was so friendly as to write me a letter some time ago. Write soon, and believe me,

Yours most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

* This individual took the chair at the Dungannon Convention in 1782.

† This was Lord Clare, Attorney-General and Chancellor of Ireland.

MR. GRATTAN TO ROBERT DAY, ESQ.

Tuesday, May, 1768.

MY DEAR DAY,

You will be affected when I tell you, that our old friend, your admirer, and my rural acquaintance, poor Mrs. Sawyer, is dead; she expired yesterday of a fever, under which she had languished for three weeks. I found her in that situation, and therefore came to Price's immediately. She was possessed of her reason when she died, and spoke about me in her last moments; her constitution was long ready for death, and grasped at the first opportunity.

I do not intend to return to London for some time. I read, and find in the long-room infinite satisfaction. Fitzgibbon is here—he is good-humoured and sensible—he improves much upon an intimacy. I have been tolerably well since I came to the country, except that my new and teazing acquaintance, the head-ache, presides over me with a sullen perseverance. If you would come to the country, we might live here or at Sawyer's, for two or three weeks: but while you have health you will not leave London; bring or send me down half a pound of White's tea.

My love to Tydd; if he don't go to Bath, persuade him to come here.

Your's,

HENRY GRATTAN.

P. S. If any person is going to Ireland, let us know, as I have a bag of seeds of the evergreen oak, to send to Bushe; they are at the Grecian Coffee House. Send an account of Irish politics.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

London, May 19th, 1768.

The delay I have been guilty of, must be imputed to that very dissipation of company, and that want of mental activity, which my friend complains of, and which too often suspends our correspondence. The method by which you explain early attachment, is well founded; I fear it is *fatally* so; I fear, we love the companions of our *boyhood*, because we were most happy in the days of *boyhood*: that we are less happy in youth than we were in those days, is but too true; that we shall be happier in old age cannot be expected. The subject is wide and affecting; however, it suggests ideas too melancholy, and points out circumstances and persons too moving. I shall go to some other subject.

Parliament has met, and a few days after its meeting, enforced the order of exclusion, so that one branch of entertainment is totally amputated. I was present at one debate before the execution of the order; it arose on an address to be presented to His Majesty, expressing the satisfaction of parliament at the measures taken to suppress the recent tumults, and promising the succour of parliament to all such measures as might further be found necessary. The intent and tendency of this, was to get parliament to approve of the present administration, and to promise to support it. The opposition spoke against the address, but did not vote; so that it passed without a negative. Lord North, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a man versed in state mystery, and learned in finances, spoke in defence of the court, in a manner impetuous, not rapid; full of cant, not melody; and deserved the eulogium of a fervent speaker, not a great one. Grenville, on the part of the opposition, was peevish and wrangling, and provoked those whom he could not defeat.

Burke, the only orator I have yet heard, in the House of Commons here, (and this character arises from his matter, not his delivery,) was ingenious, oratorical, undaunted; he treated the ministry with high contempt, and displayed with most animated derision, their schemes and purposes. The sketch of the speech I send you, was taken a day or two after I heard it; I wrote it imperfectly, most certainly, but to the best of my memory, which is generally not very faithful.

I have been at Ranelagh, a splendid, tiresome amusement. Macaulay is expected the latter end of this month; his affections are strong, but his life frequently too dissipated to let them operate; they are RADICAL, but become suspicious by the negligence with which he pursues them.

I am glad you saw my mother; she has a high idea of you, and was glad of the interview.

Most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO THE SAME.

Southstonam, near Southampton,
August 14, 1768.

There are times, my dear Broome (at least I feel such), when we lose every pleasing sensation when our relish is suspended, and self-dissatisfaction becomes the state of the intellect. At times like these I dare not write to you, and be sure whenever I am guilty of delay, not regard, but my mental economy is impaired.

The country and my situation are agreeable, and my state of mind for the most part equally regulated. I have moments (I dare say you have them also) of despondency, regret, apathy, and the rest of that deadly train that disturb our peace and defeat our purposes. They do not continue long; born without cause, without cause they

vanish. I am reading at present the parliamentary debates, performances that abound with natural reasoning, and easy expression, but cannot pretend to precision or eloquence.

I have dipped into a little English history. Lord Clarendon is amusing and instructive, but culpable in his language, his method, his partiality. Burnet is vain and unclassical, his knowledge extensive, his understanding contemptible.

Hume is the only author who, from his abilities and compass, deserves the title of an English historian. Lord Bolingbroke has a rapidity that gives him sometimes a real, and always a seeming superiority over those he contends against; his language is strenuous, his censures presumptuous, his spirit prodigious, his affectation of language great, his affectation of despising it still greater. Next to Moses, Plato seems to be his great detestation. Pity he should so desert the doctrine he sets out to inculcate, and that he should, as you will find at the latter end, fear to avow conclusions he SEEMS so fairly to have deduced. I was for a fortnight this last Spring in the country, totally alone. I never knew more rapturous moments than I sometimes felt in that solitude. The part of your letter which mentions your preferment, it is unnecessary to tell you, does not give me a trifling pleasure; your health, which is my more essential concern, I find is in your own power, and therefore shall charge you with all its vicissitudes.

My companions in the country, I believe I mentioned to you before,—a Mr. Derby and a Mr. Loveitt, both very amiable and well-informed.

Most eternally and affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

In November, 1768, Mr. Grattan sustained another and a more severe loss, in the death of his mother, who died at Calvertstown, after an illness of a few days. This took place while he was in London, and so suddenly, that she had not time to make, according to her intention, a formal disposition of her reversion to a landed property which she meant to leave to her son. The property passed in consequence to another branch of the family. The intelligence was communicated to him by his relation, in the following letter:—

MR. MARLAY TO MR. GRATTAN.

Calvertstown, November 3rd, 1768.

MY DEAR HARRY,

I have at present very few words to say to you, and those are of the most melancholy kind. I well know the tenderness of your disposition, and the warmth of your feelings; therefore I find greater pain in communicating to you the unhappy event that happened here last Tuesday. Your mother, after an illness of six days (during which time she was attended with the most affectionate care), was at last so oppressed by pain and weakness, that all hopes of her recovery were despaired of. She expired last Tuesday, and left all her family and friends in the deepest affliction. Sleigh attended her constantly, and stayed in her room two nights. The only physician of character in the country, was sent for: he said, she had been treated properly; but her disorders were so many, and her strength so exhausted, that it was not in the power of medicine to relieve her.

I shall not attempt to offer you any consolation on this occasion: I judge from my own feelings, what you must suffer; and I am well convinced *time* is the best, the only comforter in these cases.

When the pangs of your grief are softened, you will reflect with pleasure on the prudence, fortitude, and integrity of your mother, who, in the midst of the severest trials, showed a firmness and resolution, that proved the soundness of her judgment, and the uprightness of her heart. It is a happiness and an honor to be the son of such a mother. I most warmly wish you may resemble her in every thing, but her misfortune.

I am, my dear Harry,

Your most affectionate, &c.

R. MARLAY.

This afflicting intelligence was also communicated by his friend Broome, to whom he wrote the following in reply:—

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

London, November 14, 1768.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The pleasure I ever receive from your correspondence was considerably abated, when I received your last letter, which was accompanied by some of the bitterest lines I ever perused.

I am now too familiar with death to be violently surprised or afflicted by it. If any misfortune is insupportable, it ought to be that which has lately befallen me. You know the partiality my mother had towards me. A thousand tender incidents occur to afflict me, which I shall not now dwell upon. I shall, therefore, not recount the merit or

the kindness of my mother; the obligations I owe her are too great, and too many, to be forgot or repeated.

My friend, Macaulay, I see often; he has been particularly attentive and affectionate to me; there is something in his conversation entertaining and relieving, the more so now, that he has become regular and domestic; he has taken a house in London, and is led by his inclination to make his residence here. If any one be so unfortunate as to outlive his connexions, and be so wise as to relish obscurity, London is the place one would wish to be lost in.

Write to me soon, and expect a speedy and a fuller answer.

Yours, my dear Broome,
Most affectionately,
HENRY GRATTAN.

On this melancholy occasion, he wrote to his friends in the most passionate and affecting terms. The following are some extracts from his letters on that occasion:—

"You were the only woman in the world who loved me. I blush that I bear your death with such tranquillity. The love you bore me,—the thousand kindnesses I have received from you—your tenderness, your anxiety, your liberality, your maternal concern for me—are a most affecting and wounding consideration. To remember these obligations with the gratitude they deserve, makes your death insupportable." * * * * * * "Your good sense, your meekness in misfortune, your fortitude in suffering, the judicious love you distributed among your children, your generous negligence of yourself, place you

among the first of women. A thousand amiable instances of your virtues, a thousand mutual obligations that interwove our affections, crowd on me and afflict me. Your incomparable qualities torment me now, though I was formerly proud to recollect them. Heaven forbid that you should only live in the memory of those who knew your virtues, and that such merit should have no reward, but the tears and adoration of those that survive you!"

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Bushe.—Mr. Flood.—Sir Hercules Langrishe.—Private Theatricals.—The American War.—Mr. Bushe to Mr. Grattan.—Mr. Marlay to Mr. Grattan.—"Single Speech," Hamilton.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome.—Wilks.—Fatal Duel.—Mr. Flood Tried.—Mr. Bushe to Mr. Grattan.—M. Grattan to Mr. Broome.—The same to the same.—Private Theatricals in Ireland.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Day.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome.—Mr. Grattan to the same.—Mr. Day to Mr. Grattan.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Day.

In 1768, Mr. Grattan's eldest sister married Mr. Gervase Parker Bushe, a gentleman of family and fortune in the county of Kilkenny, whose name will be often mentioned in the subsequent pages. Mr. Bushe was Member of Parliament for the Borough of Callan. This marriage led to a close intimacy between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood, whose seat was in the above-named county, and of whom Mr. Grattan had heard much, and whose talents and principles he admired. Mr. Flood used to read and discuss with him on political

subjects. He was the author of several letters that were published under the name of Syndercombe; and that inveighed against Lord Townshend's government. In these publications, Mr. Grattan took part; and from the society of Mr. Flood, he derived much advantage.

Private theatricals being then in fashion, Mr. Grattan acted along with Mr. Flood, Mr. Bushe, and Mr., afterwards Sir Hercules Langrishe. Mr. Flood was a good actor; his line was austere pathos; he did not possess the humour and pleasantry that were the peculiar qualities of Sir Hercules; but he was his rival for fame, even on the stage of private life.

Mr. Flood was of considerable use to Mr. Grattan in his younger days. He assisted in bringing him forward, and encouraging him to enter public life. They wrote—they argued—they debated together: but Flood's style was too artificial; and he was not a good model for a young man.

The American war, that aroused every lover of liberty, called forth the efforts of those who, though removed from the scene of action, were not insensible to the principles of justice, and the struggles of freedom. Mr. Bushe and Mr. Grattan were, in this respect, American;—Mr. Flood was not so. Mr. Bushe published a pamphlet on the subject of American taxation, which was excellent in style and principle, and was much admired at

the time by an eager public, as well as by Mr. Grattan, to whom he wrote on the subject, as follows:—

MR. BUSHE TO MR. GRATTAN.

Kilfane, near Gowran,
January 18th, 1769.

MY DEAR SIR,

I shall in a very few days fulfil my threat of sending you the pamphlet I mentioned, but I take the liberty to give you first another trouble. Mr. Griffith tells me that a second edition of 'The case of Great Britain and America,' is coming out. I have made a good many additions to it, and hope it will be better, and also better printed than the first. As Griffith carried it to the printer, it is not unlikely he has been given out as the author of it. If so, I should be sorry; for it would not assist its reputation to be attributed to him. The pamphlet which I shall soon send you, bids much fairer for fame. Besides other merits, it has some nice calculations, and a very good invective against George Grenville*, whom I hope you hate. If

* The following were the remarks of Mr. Grattan on his speech:—"When I went to London to the Temple, the first person I heard speak was George Grenville. He talked of American taxation, and of the indisputable law of the realm that gave that right; and he extended this to Ireland. It made a great impression upon me, and I felt very much at the time; and I recollect taking great pains to answer him. I wrote a reply, which I thought was very good, and with much care; but it touched every point, except the question:—it stood clear of that. However, this had great effect upon me, and was of much service. It impressed on my mind a horror of this doctrine; and I believe it was owing to this speech of George Grenville's, that I became afterwards so very active in my opposition to the principles of British Government in Ireland."

mine has any merit, it has but one—that of brevity. There is nothing *stirring* in this country. If any thing has happened in London, besides what the papers contain, you would oblige me by writing a line or two.

I am, my dear Sir,
Your very affectionate friend and brother,
G. P. BUSHE.

By means of his uncle Marlay, Mr. Grattan was introduced to a distinguished individual at that time—Wm. Gerard Hamilton, Secretary to Lord Halifax in 1761.

MR. MARLAY TO MR. GRATTAN.

Tunbridge, 9th July, 1769.

DEAR HARRY,

Every day this fortnight I have expected the pleasure of seeing you here. The country is wild and extremely pleasant; the company few; the public rooms empty, and generally as cool as a grot.

Are you now with the Bushes, or are they gone to Ireland? I suppose you have taken *Nightingale Hall* for the summer season. You will find your situation perfectly happy, if you can see it with the enthusiastic partiality of Langrishe, which converted four elms into a large forest, and one poor sparrow into ten thousand nightingales. Mrs. Langrishe would be much pleased if she could infuse into George the warm imagination of his master, and make him take a solitary chop for a shoulder of mutton;—but unfortunately for her economy, George considers the chop in its true proportion, and sees and feels he dines in miniature.

I live with Hamilton.* His understanding is excellent;

* William Gerard Hamilton, in November, 1755, delivered that *single speech* upon which his reputation exclusively rested. "Young Mr. Ha-

and his manner, when he is at ease, is lively and pleasing. We read together every day, and sometimes dispute moderately. I wish you had come to this place. You would have made an agreeable, and perhaps a useful acquaintance. I go to London next Sunday.

Yours sincerely,

RICHARD MARLAY.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Temple, Feb. 17th, 1769.

MY DEAR BROOME,

Forgive my tardiness, and pity the indisposition of my mind, instead of reproving my delay. A breast, the slave of a thousand discordant passions; now intoxicated with company, now saddening in solitude; sometimes disturbed with hope, sometimes depressed with despair, and equally

milton," says Horace Walpole, who was present, "opened for the first time in behalf of the treaties, and was at once perfection. His speech was set, and was full of antitheses, but those antitheses were full of argument; and he broke through the regularity of his own composition, answered other people, and fell into his own track again with the greatest ease. His figure is advantageous, his voice strong and clear, his manner spirited, and the whole with the ease of an established speaker. You will ask what could be beyond this? Nothing, but what was beyond whatever was—and that was Pitt!" In December following Mr. Hamilton was rewarded with a seat at the Board of Trade; in 1761, he was appointed Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and for many years held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer of that kingdom. He died in 1796. In one of his letters to Mr. Calcraft, 1764, he writes —"It is thought that the move as to Ireland, is still in agitation; this is all the news of the day. I need not tell you I am not so situated as to have any other information—nor do I wish it. *Last summer has convinced me that books are the true things to abide by. My full intention is to follow your example, and to leave off business.*"—Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham, vol. ii. p. 299.

ravaged with each; disgusted often, and often precipitately enamoured; all this makes me poor in my own esteem, and unkind in yours.

I live in the Temple, where I have taken convenient chambers, that promote study. If ever we meet, we shall talk of these times with more happiness than we have passed through them.

Macaulay, now Boyd, is now in Ireland, and probably has seen you. I saw him just before his departure, and desired him to tell you I was pregnant of matter to communicate to you. Bermingham, our amiable friend, has accompanied him. The seeing you, is the only circumstance that makes me envy their expedition.

Wilks was returned again for Middlesex without opposition, last Thursday, and last Friday was expelled. The minority is numerous and respectable; the event of a third return, (which is not doubted) will probably be violent; some outrageous act of ministerial oppression, and parliamentary obsequiousness.

Yours for ever, most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

At this time a melancholy event occurred, arising out of an election contest for the Borough of Callan, which the families of the Agars and Flood had long disputed. The elder Mr. Agar had challenged Mr. Flood, and they fought at Holyhead, when Mr. Agar was slightly wounded; but still dissatisfied, he again challenged his adversary, having revived an old dispute which had no reference to the real hostility entertained against Mr. Flood. The parties drew lots for the first

fire, which Mr. Agar got, and missed his antagonist; and on Mr. Flood firing, Mr. Agar received the shot through the heart, and immediately expired. This event caused much affliction to Mr. Flood and Lord Charlemont, between whom and Lord Chancellor Lifford, several letters passed, respecting the legal proceedings in the case. In April, 1770, Mr. Flood was tried at the Kilkenny assizes. The verdict was manslaughter in his own defence, and he was honourably acquitted. The following account was written by Mr. Bushe on the occasion.

MR. BUSHE TO MR. GRATTAN.

September, 1769.

My Dear Harry,

I must postpone every other topic to inform you, that on Friday last, a duel was fought between Harry Flood, and Mr. Agar the elder, in Dunmore Park, near Kilkenny, in which Mr. Agar was unfortunately killed. As Mr. Flood was not the challenger, and as it was out of his power to avoid it, he has nothing to reproach himself with. The cause was a case of pistols belonging to Mr. Agar, which one Keogh lost at Burn Church, in the riot about ten months ago. I hear that the unfortunate gentleman had often asked Mr. Flood about them, who always said "that he had them not, and was not accountable for them." But on Friday, they produced a challenge, to my great surprise, for if there were any offence, it was as much an offence any day these ten months, as it was on that day. They stood at about fourteen yards asunder. Before they fired, Mr. Agar ques-

tioned Mr. Flood about the pistols, in a threatening and offensive manner. Mr. Flood answered very deliberately, "You know I will not answer you while you ask me in that manner." Mr. G. Bushe, who was Mr. Flood's friend, said something to Mr. Agar to induce him to ask in another manner, and not to bring such an affair upon himself so needlessly; but without effect. He laid down one pistol, and rested the other on his arm to take his aim. Both Mr. G. B. and Mr. Roth, his own friend, called to him to fire fairly: (N. B. besides the unfairness of using a rest, it was particularly unfair at that time, for Mr. A .had proposed they should stand alongside a quick-set hedge, but Mr. Roth declared "*there should be no* LEVELLING.") Upon their calling out he desisted, and took another posture, and fired first and missed. He then took up his other pistol, and then said to Mr. Flood, "Fire, you scoundrel!" Mr. Flood, thereupon presented his pistol, which he held all this time with the muzzle turned upwards, and shot Mr. A. through the heart. Mr. A.'s left breast was towards him, Mr A. being left-handed. He expired in a few minutes without speaking any thing articulate. The coroner's have found the verdict specially; "That he came by his death by a pistol bullet,"—as appears more fully by the examinations of Mr. Roth and Mr. Bushe,—without even mentioning Mr. Flood's name. Mr. Flood is fortunate that a man was present of so much honour as Mr. Roth, who does the fullest justice to his character. I hear that Mr. Agar, of Gowran, has heard the matter properly related, and that he disclaimed any ungenerous malice; and indeed the matter is so wonderfully clear, that Mr. Flood has nothing to apprehend from prosecution or from calumny. Nothing ever was superior to his temper, or his steady courage. I will not sign my name for obvious reasons.

Mr. Flood does not abscond, nor is there any occasion. Do not show this to any one who is not worthy of confidence.

G. P. B.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

December 8th, 1769.

My Dear Broome,

From a person living in the metropolis of the world, you may expect some news, some politics that may interest you, some facts that may amuse you. Alas! how much must I disappoint all these expectations! Unconnected with the great world, I learn no political intrigues; and unconcerned in the matter-of-fact world, I attend to none of its momentous incidents. Excluded from the House of Commons, I want even my usual resort of amusements; and weary of the repetition of bad plays, I am thrown into the wanderer's last resort, the arms of a coffee-house, where I meet few acquaintances—no friends. I leave London in a few days, to retire to a pretty situation in Windsor; I need not tell you how I wish your partnership in my destined hermitage. It is not pure friendship, it is interested selfishness in part, that dictates my passion; for you have an uncontrolled influence over me, banishing every gloomy suggestion, and reconciling me even to myself.

I have heard too little of the capital speakers, to characterize them to you; having gained admission one or two days, we have been excluded since.

Burke is unquestionably the first orator among the Commons of England; boundless in knowledge, instantaneous in his apprehensions, and abundant in his language; he speaks with profound attention and acknowledged superiority, notwithstanding the want of energy, the want of grace, and the want of elegance in his manner.

The other speakers whom I have heard, do not deserve relation; they sink down to the lumber of our house, only that they are not so deficient in language, nor so entirely over-run with vulgarity. La Touche, I find, has lost his election; I am sorry for it. He engaged my warmest wishes, as much as the citizens of Dublin do now my indignation. They have the turbulence of faction, with the meanness of dependency, and would give to a title, what the citizens of London would deny to his Majesty.

I think of you often, sometime with pleasure, sometime with regret. I now and then wish the return of those days of boyhood when hope was more sanguine, and the credulity of future happiness not disproved by experience. Farewell; your friends Bermingham and Macaulay desire to be remembered to you. The noise and turbulence of a coffee-house oblige me to conclude.

Yours most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

London, Dec. 15th, 1769.

MY DEAR BROOME,

Whether you or I are the most faithful correspondent, I leave to your cabinet, that contains the huge bulk of my letters to you. If the advantage be on your side, it is owing to the advantage of your temper, that possesses a manly stability which mine is a stranger to. I continue in London an expensive and a tumultuous dissipation. There are many here with whom I live, but you are the only man in whom I can entirely confide. There are many whose conversation I like; but you retain the absolute dominion over my heart.

I have read nothing since I came last to London, else I

should dwell on literary productions. Swift, whom you have lately perused, is certainly easy, and ironical. His principles might have been good; but unfortunately for him, the principles of his party lived to be disgraced; and the objects of his praise only now live in the infamy of their measures.

My reading in theology has been possibly only enough to make me singular, not deep. I have not time to pierce into so important mysteries; but the opinion I advanced is the usual result of profound erudition, or daily but unbiassed experience.

You mentioned in one of your letters, a design of visiting the Continent next summer. Oh! that you would put it in execution! How happy should I be to attend you, upon such a project! The late melancholy event could not make as deep an impression as it ought, upon a mind dissipated like mine. We are too expeditious to forget the dead,—even our dearest benefactors.

Farewell, my dearest friend,

Yours most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

P.S. A late election for the county of Middlesex has engaged the zeal of this kingdom. The court candidate is thrown out, and a serjeant-at-law, whose foundation was pleading Mr. Wilks's cause, is returned. We are excluded from the House of Commons.

Mr. Grattan was always a great admirer of the stage. It was the taste of the day. The Irish are a nation of actors; they speak like the French, and think in action; and their mind is inventive and figurative. Plays were at this period the

fashion in Ireland. So early as 1759, private theatricals were represented at Lurgan, the seat of Mr. William Brownlow, that model for a country gentleman and patriot. In 1760 at Castletown, the seat of Mr. Conolly, the relation of Lord Townshend, the first part of Henry IV. was represented, and the epilogue was spoken by Mr. Hussey Burgh. At Carton, in 1761, the seat of the Earl of Kildare, afterwards Duke of Leinster, the Beggar's Opera was acted; the prologue was spoken by Dean Marlay (Mr. Grattan's uncle.) The parts of the play were acted by Lord Charlemont, Viscount Powerscourt, Mr. Conolly, Lady Louisa Conolly, and the Countess of Kildare. In 1774, Knocktopher, Farmly, and Kilfane, in the county of Kilkenny, the country residences of Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Flood, and Mr. Bushe, were distinguished by similar dramatic performances. Mr. Flood acted Macbeth—Mr. Grattan Macduff. At Marlay, the seat of Mr. La Touche, in the county of Dublin, the Mask of Comus was acted, in which Mr. Grattan, Mr. Burgh, and Mr. Bushe performed along with seventeen of the La Touche family (a name celebrated for the excellence of its possessors, the beauty of their persons, the suavity of their manners, and their kind and gentle disposition.) Mr. Grattan composed the epilogue, which was spoken by Miss La Touche, that famous beauty, afterwards Countess of Lanes-

borough.* In 1778, Mr. Luke Gardiner, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, had a private theatre at his residence in the Phœnix Park, when Mr. Bushe

* *Epilogue to the Mask of Comus.*

WRITTEN BY HENRY GRATTAN, SPOKEN BY MISS LA TOUCHE, THE CELEBRATED COUNTESS OF LANESBOROUGH.

"Hist! hist!"—I hear a dame of fashion say,
"Lord! how absurd the heroine of this play!
A god of rank and station was so good
To take a lady from a hideous wood;
Brought her to all the pleasures of his court,
Of love, and men, and music, the resort;
Bid mirth and transport wait on her command,
Gave her a ball, and offered her his hand;
And she, quite country, obstinate, and mulish,
Extremely fine, perhaps, but vastly foolish,
Would neither speak, nor laugh, nor dance, nor sing,
Nor condescend, nor wed, nor—any thing!
Now put a modern lady in her stead,
More frail, you'll say, but surely better bred;
Civil and soothing, smiling, courteous, she
Had found some means to please his majesty!
And, gentle and ambitious, by his side
Had reigned his charming and immortal bride;
Or, had the subtle necromancer play'd
His protean charms against the tender maid,
She, formed to please, but capable to vex,
Had found some means his magic to perplex;
And, by those arts poor women have at hand,
Made him a monster straight—for all his wand!
Besides, this virtuous maid, with all her pride,
If we examine, was not fairly tried:
The son of Circe knew not how to move her,
Poor Comus, tho' enchanting, was no lover!
Comus, who thought a lady's heart to gain,
Could he with wine possess her tender brain:
But many women, who the world refine,
Have thought of men who never tasted wine.

and Mr. Isaac Corry acted;—and at a much later period these private theatricals were revived in the county of Kilkenny, where Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Rothe, Mr. Corry, Mr. Lyster, and Mr. Thomas Moore* (the bard of Ireland) acted —cultivating at once taste, talent, and charity;

In all affairs of love and tender passion,
Best leave good angels to their inclination.
For England's daughters, fond of liberty,
Resist compulsion—but are kind, when free;
And if provoked, with more than manly rage,
Will fight for virtue, as a privilege!
But why choose COMUS?—COMUS won't go down—
Milton, good creature! never knew the town.
Better a sentimental comedy,
That leads the soul conscientiously astray!
Where about good fond rakes are always ranting,
And fond, frail woman, so divinely canting!
And sweet, sad dialogue, with feeling nice,
Gives flavour and variety to vice!

So will a modern dame of fashion say,
And rail at us, our morals, and our play.
But, gentle ladies! you'll, I am sure, approve
Your sexes triumph over guilty love:
Nor will our sports of gaiety alarm you—
These little Bacchanals will never harm you,
Nor COMUS' wreathed smiles: and you'll admire,
Once more, true English force, and genuine fire;
Milton's chaste majesty—Arne's airy song—
The light note tripping on Allegro's tongue:
While the sweet flowing of the purest breast,
Like Milton, tuneful—vestal as his taste,
Calls music from her cell, and warbles high,
The rapturous soul of song and sovereign extacy.

* His reciting the melologue, which he composed, was the most interesting thing imaginable.

and displaying qualities that adorned and embellished private society.

Mr. Grattan was present at several of these plays, and often said that Lyster and Rothe were in several characters not surpassed by Mossop or Kemble. In one of the early letters to Mr. Grattan, his uncle writes as follows, with his usual humour.

MR. MARLAY TO MR. GRATTAN.

Calvertstown, October 20th, 1763.

DEAR HARRY,

I hope I may now congratulate you on a complete recovery, and a perfect soundness in mind and body. You escaped, by your confinement, a very disagreeable time, which you must have passed at Belcamp during your father's illness. He imagined himself in great danger; but his disorder was chiefly on his spirits, from whence most of his complaints proceed.

Smock-alley has got a great acquisition in Miss Catley. Her voice is excellent; her figure captivating; her eye brilliant and expressive. Macklin says she has fine materials. Her indignation is commanding; she is affecting in the pathetic, and just in the narrative. So much for theatrical affairs.

Some slight pieces have been acted in the House of Commons; many more farces are to be performed this winter by the same actors, most of whom, it is expected, will be taken into his Majesty's pay.

I am, dear Harry,
Your most sincere and affectionate
R. MARLAY.

Though the following letter from Mossop belongs, in point of date, to a somewhat later period,

it will find a more suitable place here, in connection with the foregoing notices of the theatrical taste of the time.

MR. MOSSOP TO MR. MARLAY.

MY DEAR MARLAY,

You will be surprised to find my letter dated from Paris. I have been there this three weeks. The journey and change of climate have agreed extremely well with me. This excursion has been the cause of my not making an earlier acknowledgment of the honour of your letter. Since I have been in France, I have attended many of their theatrical entertainments. Their acting is abominable; their singing worse; but many of their dramas, and a great part of their music, are excellent, and peculiarly of a kind suited to the taste of an English audience; particularly the music. One piece, a comic opera, I have been much struck with. The fable is good—full of incidents—those I could expect from the French stage; the music extremely light and pretty, and the whole is (I have no doubt) capable of succeeding before a London audience. In short, I have myself set about giving it an English dress, and forming the whole into a drama for the London stage. You can assist me very materially on the occasion. I recollect that some years ago, you formed a plan of an English comic opera, and had written several of the songs. Those songs would be of very great service to me, as I shall certainly find some of them that would, with alterations, be made to suit the subject, and I would, with a little trouble, alter the measure suitable to the airs which I should select. If you have not destroyed them, and do not intend to apply them to any other use, you will oblige me much, if you will favour me with them as soon as conveniently you can. I

am very happy to find that Lord Townshend has done himself so much honour and credit, as to show that he has had discernment and virtue enough to distinguish you.*

Need I say I most cordially congratulate you. If your preferment were determined by my wishes, it would be high indeed, and would be suitable to your desert.

I am, my dear Marlay,

Most truly and sincerely yours,

HENRY MOSSOP.

Paris, 29th Aug. 1772.

Direct à Monsieur Mossop, Hotel de York, rue des Mauvais Garçons.

MR. MARLAY TO MR. GRATTAN.

Calvertstown, 26th August, 1769.

DEAR HARRY,

I did not expect you would have come to London to meet me. If I had imagined you had a scheme of returning to London, I would have persuaded Lord Ancram to defer our journey a few days. Your proposed application to the law, will give great pleasure to your friends. The study, though laborious and disagreeable, is not so painful as idleness, which persons of the brightest talents are apt to fall into, unless they are stimulated by ambition, prompted by vanity, or compelled by poverty, to exert their faculties. Since you have not ambition nor vanity sufficient to rouse you, the narrowness of your fortune will, I hope, force you into wealth and eminence.

I am now at Calvertstown, † which is daily improving; it is certainly rural and pleasant, though not beautiful or

* He was appointed one of his Excellency's chaplains.

† The seat of Mr. Levinge, who married a sister of Bishop Marlay. He was a descendant of Sir Richard Levinge, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons that assembled after the revolution of 1688.

romantic. I staid a fortnight at Celbridge. That country afforded much gaiety. The Fair Penitent was performed twice at Leixlip. The younger Townshend played the character of Lothario with great spirit and propriety. His voice is uncommonly fine, his action pleasing and graceful, and his countenance very animated and expressive. The elder Townshend acted Horatio with decency, and seemed to have a good idea of the character. Jephson performed the part of Altamont justly, but in a subdued manner; I suppose, to make the Townshends appear in a more conspicuous point of view. Swan was well in Sciolto. He laboured too much, and would have pleased more if he had endeavoured to please less. Miss Montgomery (the Calista) has spirit and feeling.

I am, my dear Harry,
Your most sincere and affectionate,
R. MARLAY.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

Dublin, Jan. 9, 1770.

DEAR DAY,

You have forgot me. I hear from no one in England. You have imputed to me the forgetfulness you have displayed, and have thought it unnecessary to acquaint me either about your health or your happiness. I have intended to write to you often; though we had agreed that you should write first. I have at length overcome my own indolence and your neglect, and take up the pen in despair.

Ireland has been the scene of action the foregoing part of this winter. There has been no winter in which party has more fluctuated. At one time, the independent men, as they call themselves, inclining to government, and threatening defeat to the Speaker; at another time sup-

porting the Speaker, and casting the balance against government. The Lord Lieutenant received four or five defeats this winter, but was victorious often, and parties were so balanced, that the measure was generally determined by its own weight.

Lord Townshend was rather despised than hated till this late measure; and even now, the supposition of his reluctance to protest, softens the acrimony of opposition.

The debates this winter were not equal to what I have formerly heard in the Irish House. Flood and Hutchinson seldom spoke. The former on one or two occasions was as fine as any man could be who did not exert himself. Hussey is liked, and promises merit. Scott is disliked, and does not promise any thing. His conduct in the House of Commons, in a committee to consider the repairing of particular churches, that were in a ruinous state, was indecent, not comical; the whole house was disgusted; the old men looked with astonishment at one another. Harwood was absent.

The Freeman's Journal teems with invective at present; but hitherto the Freeman has slept, and the measures of parliament have not enough engaged the attention, or affected the passions of the people.

I shall be soon in England. I am tired of Dublin, with all its hospitality and all its claret. Upon our arrival it seemed a town hung in mourning, swarming with poverty and idleness. We feel relaxation growing upon us as soon as we arrive, and we catch the epidemic sloth of the luxurious capital. Love and regard to John Day, Lovett, and Tydd.

Yours, dear Day, affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

I shall be in London in a very short time.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

February 8, 1770.

I am happy at the event that rescues us from so much anxiety; the storm that lowered at a distance is blown off, and you must take care not to engender another. The downfall of administration promises to accompany domestic tranquillity, and the Duke of Grafton's resignation, and the impending ruin of his system, give satisfaction to our public alarms,—the only alarms that now remain.

The anonymous letter* was much liked; I think it is the best of any, but your censure of obscurity at the end was justified by most of those who read it.

I received a letter from Boyd. He talks of Jamaica remittances, of the difficulty of payment, complains of disappointments, and with coyness unravels his system of a year's imposition. I have not yet answered his letter, and have not sought to impede the natural exertion of law. To law, he may open those stores which have been shut to friendship, and he must do that justice to the insensibility of the former, which he refused to the disinterested warmth of the latter. I am impatient to return to England. The splendid and the enrapturing scenes of London begin to wanton in my imagination, I have here reputable friends, and am myself not totally without credit; and yet (such is the perverseness of our nature), I am impatient to become an obscure character in another country.

I have not forgotten the romantic valley.† I look on it with an eye of forecast. It may be the recreation of an

* This was one of the letters in Barataria, by Flood.

† This was Tinnehinch, in the county of Wicklow, the place he after purchased and lived in.

active life, or the shelter of an obscure one, or the romantic residence of philosophic friendship.

I have gone to plays since you left this town; they are a miserable substitute. The night of the "Clandestine Marriage" the house was so cold, that even good acting could hardly have been a recompense, much less the downcast demerit of Clinch, or the unseasonable strength of Wilder acting the infirmities of *Lord Ogilby*, with the vigour of a wrestler.

Yours, dear Broome,
With everlasting friendship,
HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

February 11, 1770.

MY DEAR DAY,

I will discharge your business with punctuality. The fault was possibly mine; but it was in me no more than a mistake in our agreement, in which no man is more likely to be mistaken than I am.

Ireland seems to have forgotten her injuries, and Protest and Prorogation awoke her but for a moment. Our sportive youth have forgotten the cares of their country, and have taken refuge in the consolation of a dramatic performance. A play which is to be acted on Monday, has been for some months past the object of the gravest, as well as the youngest senator; the play is "Tamerlane:" Hussey is to perform that character. Brownlow, Lord Mount Morris, Lord Kildare, and Jephson, are to make their appearance; the ladies are the Miss Montgomerys, three celebrated beauties.

Feb. 13.—The play was acted last night. I was so stupid as to refuse a ticket, and lost a most magnificent spectacle, and in the instance of Miss Montgomery

and Jephson, a fine performance; the former an accomplished actress, the latter a formed actor. Several ladies dressed for different characters in the farce, among whom two of my sisters were numbered, but none spoke; in fact, the Miss Montgomerys* refused to be the only women who would act, and therefore required the *appearance* of a female society.

I am happy in your approbation of Posthumus: there is another in the "Freeman" of last Saturday se'nnight, without a name, written by Posthumus, which I wish you would read, and read with this caution—the latter end is ill printed. I intend to bring to England, for which place I shall set out in a week, all the pamphlets that have been published relative to the Protest and Poyning's law: none, except one, have any merit. I am pressed to go to Kilkenny; it would be an agreeable expedition, but I shall prefer London. You may judge, by this letter, the hurry in which it has been written— taken up at different times, and concluded after a thousand interruptions; but it answers my purpose, if it only assures you that your company is not the least motive to my impatience to return, and that I am, with steadfast cordiality,

Yours,

HENRY GRATTAN.

My love and regards to Day, Lovett, and Tydd.

* These were three celebrated Irish beauties: the eldest married Mr. Luke Gardiner, father to Lord Mountjoy; the second Mr. John Beresford, the Commissioner of Revenue; and the third Lord Townshend, Viceroy in Ireland. There were two other famous Irish beauties, whose names are also recorded in history—the Miss Gunnings; one married the Earl of Coventry; the other the Duke of Hamilton, and after his death, the Duke of Argyle, but died at the age of twenty-seven. Walpole says, "So great was their beauty, that crowds flocked to see the duchess, and that 700 persons sat up all night at an inn, in

MR GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

February 22, 1770.

Still in Ireland, and only unhappy in your absence, and my own unsettled situation. I purposed going to England the beginning of next week; but an invitation to go with Bushe and Flood, to Kilkenny, makes me hesitate. Pleasure and study point at London, but comfort and possible improvement direct to the other place. I believe I shall go to London.

I have lived very much with Bushe and Flood this last fortnight—an agreeable society, that with your assistance, may make Ireland hereafter a pleasing retreat. I have called on your father twice, but did not find him at home; I had, however, the satisfaction of seeing your mother, and had a long interview with the most amiable of women. Notwithstanding her benign nature, I could not but prefer this prayer to Heaven,—That you might be happier than your father, and gentler than your mother.

I seldom think, and therefore write less frequently than I ought to do. My conscience salutes me with reproaches at every attempt at contemplation; it tells me I am growing old, losing time, and yielding to the habits of dissipation. You have an advantage over me in our correspondence. You have leisure to feel; retirement excites the passions, and is insupportable without them;

Yorkshire, to see her enter her carriage next morning. The duke was so anxious to have the ceremony performed, that he would not wait till day, but was married with the ring of the bed-curtain, at half-past twelve at night, in Mayfair chapel. The Countess of Coventry was said to have made a singular reply to George II.; his Majesty had asked her if she liked masquerades?—The countess answered, she did not—that she was tired of sights, but she was desirous of seeing one—a coronation! —*Walpole.*

every good, and every rational quality is enticed, and uninterrupted. But in the world, action crowds on too fast for the feelings; our attention is distracted, our passions not affected, and every nobler sentiment, the offspring of reflection, is suppressed. 'Tis therefore I am a slow and slovenly correspondent, and seldom in this noisy scene rise to the merit of writing to you.

You will see in the "Freeman" of next Saturday a letter to Lord Townshend, equal to any of Junius's performances. I have seen it in manuscript; it is by some attributed to Flood, but denied so strenuously, that I almost doubt his being the author. I shall send you the paper, as soon as it comes out, and if there is anything worth relating, you may be sure to hear it, from

Yours ever,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Notwithstanding the pretended disclaimer, the letter here alluded to was written by Mr. Flood. Several appeared under the signature of "Syndercombe" against Lord Townshend's Government. They were published in the "Freeman's Journal," and were afterwards collected in a work entitled "Baratariana—to which a dedication to Lord Townshend was prefixed, written by Mr. Grattan, and to which several persons also contributed.

From the acquaintance that subsisted between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Boyd, as appears from the frequent allusions to him in the foregoing letters, it was natural that Mr. Grattan should have been able to form a tolerably correct opinion as to whether he was the author of "Junius;" and in

the preface to an edition of "Junius's" works by Almon, an enquiry is instituted, and among others, an application was made to Mr. Grattan, at whose dictation Mrs. Grattan replied as follows :—

SIR,

Mr. Grattan not being able to write, desires me to answer the letter you did him the honour to send. He does not recollect any fact which at the time or since inclined him to think that Mr. Boyd was the author of "Junius," or connected with that publication. Were Mr. Boyd "Junius," it was wholly without Mr. Grattan's knowledge. *His understanding was very considerable; his memory astonishing;* and his literary powers very great; but whether he *thought proper to give* them the style and cast of Junius's composition, is what Mr. Grattan cannot possibly undertake to say. He wishes every success to Mr. C.'s work, as it is the account of a person (whether Junius or not,) whose life and talents were an ornament to letters, and his death an irretrievable loss.

Another application was made to Mr. Grattan, to know whether *he* was not the author. Mr. Grattan replied :—

SIR,

I can frankly assure you I know nothing of "Junius" except that I am not the author. When "Junius" began, I was a boy, and knew nothing of politics, or the persons concerned in them. *I am, Sir, not Junius,* but your good wisher, and obedient servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

Dublin, 4th November, 1805.

Mr. Flood was also supposed to have been the author; but the comparison of the letters of

"Syndercombe," which he certainly wrote, with those of "Junius," will go far to disprove the probability; and, on reference to two of the letters, this is established beyond doubt; for one of the letters of Junius to Sir William Draper, was written on the 21st February, 1769, and appeared but a few days after the publication of Sir William Draper's letter, dated the 17th, and to which it was a reply;—at that time Mr. Flood was in Ireland, and it would not have been possible for a reply to have been made by him, and published in London, in the short space within which that letter of Junius appeared.

On this subject, I may say that Mr. Grattan's opinion always was that the letters of Junius came from the *Burke School*, and that Burke was the prime mover, if not the writer. His observations are the more deserving of notice, as he had conversed on the subject with Gerard Hamilton and Mr. Boyd—they were as follows—"There is nothing in the passage of Burke* where he alludes to Junius on the subject of *ex officio* informations that might not have been spoken by a person who had written "Junius." I know that Boyd heard Burke make that very speech that night; and *Boyd told me* there was nothing he said then, that would make him believe he had not written "Junius"; on the contrary, I incline to think, from the manner he spoke, that he *did* write

* In the 11th vol.; Ed. 1816.

it.—Hamilton also said to me, 'If I was to die to-morrow, unless I could tell who wrote 'Junius,' I would lay my head quietly upon the pillow to-night—'twas Burke.'"

This was the opinion of two individuals, supposed at one time to have been the authors of "Junius."

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Kilfane, March 16, 1770.

I received your letter this morning at Bushe's, where I have been this fortnight, except for six days, during which time I was at Flood's; an agreeable time, and I could wish to prolong it, but fate drives me to Cavan in a few days, about a suit with a tenant, and sends me from thence to Dublin, and so to England. This interval will be tedious and insipid. How I long to be reposed in the shades of Windsor, watching the spring, and cultivating the muse! I dread the interval of sea-journey and fatigue.

Flood is the most easy and best tempered man in the world, as well as the most sensible. He harangued one morning:—he was excellent; your humble servant execrable—overawed and ashamed of himself.

The changes promise a session of fervency. Lord Townshend will hardly withstand so numerous and so eloquent an opposition. He has aristocracy and democracy to combat; he has corruption and himself to rely upon. The administration of England, of which he is an emanation, the Protest and Prorogation, must hold him up to the public as dangerous and detestable; and violence, which is victory to a strong government, must be dissolution to a weak one. If the English Ministry change, their

servants must fall with them; and if they continue, Lord Townshend's talents as an innovator are inadequate to execute the plan of their policy. Reformation must be fatal to him, and the continuance of even an infamous Government is not a sufficient protection. I do not agree with you, in your tenderness for Lord Townshend's measures. If those measures are his own, he is to be condemned, for they are bad measures; if they are orders, he is to be condemned also, because they are wicked orders, and of an infamous administration. The same spirit, that now oppresses England, oppresses us. It is the interest of Britain to maintain a degree of subordination in Ireland, but not to degrade dependence, or exasperate submission. The remonstrance of the Livery of London is sublime; it will vindicate the character of London to futurity. Affairs are urged so far, that nothing but an unbecoming retreat, or national struggle, will decide. Old England seems awakened, and the Royal understanding will be hardly able to outwit it. Messrs. * * * * are not pleased at losing their employments, and have now found that the country is really in danger. The designs of Ministry are alarming, and if there is not spirit in the people, they must be successful. It had been absurd in this Kingdom to have resented her own peculiar injuries; but when her old plunderers are injured with her, Ireland ought no doubt to be exasperated!

Yours ever,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

Kilfane, March 30th, 1770.

My Dear Day,

I hoped to have been with you long ago, but a visit to the county of Kilkenny delayed my progress. I have been at Flood's, and am now at Bushe's. The time has been idle and agreeable, but infinitely less idle and agreeable than it would have been in London.

The changes in this country have given satisfaction to many; to those who were not themselves in place, and considered the oligarchy here as a degrading oppression; and to those who wish a more effectual opposition, and expect it from the sanguine resentment of the dismissed. Lord ——— is odious, but so ridiculous, that satire is unedged of her indignation, and dissolves in laughter at the burlesque of his character. He rattles his politics in all companies, gets drunk in all companies, and is uniform to no one political principle, but the publication of his secrets. We expect no parliament till the winter after next, because Government has every reason to expect a majority against them, as Lord Townshend must be sure that their first measure will be an address to remove him.

Macartney, if possible, is more disliked than Lord Townshend. An eternal sneer, a nauseating affectation, and a listless lethargy, make him (they say) disgusting in general, and give him the name of the Macaroni Prime Minister.

I shall be in London certainly the first week in April, and shall do your business with punctuality. The bookseller had sent you the books before you wrote. Your brother called on me, and said he would have the things ready.

Remember me to Lovett, Day, and Tydd.

Yours ever, most affectionately,

Henry Grattan.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

London, Thursday, April 19, 1770.

I fear you did not receive the letter I wrote you from Conway. I waited for something to tell you, or I should have been more expeditious in writing another. England is the seat of business, and therefore you may imagine it is the seat of news. I shall correct your mistake, by telling none. I shall refer you to the papers for political events, and profound conjectures; for the visits which the Duke of Grafton pays to a great personage, and for the contributions made in favour of another great personage, lately in confinement. I shall only tell you, that on Tuesday night Mr. Wilkes went privately from prison, and that on last night the whole town was illuminated. Every thing was apprehended, but I have heard of nothing that has been done by the populace. There were many houses not illuminated, and they did not suffer. This night was more tranquil than those of his election. The letters to the Ward and to his constituents are spirited, but not his best productions. They promise future contests, and future persecution. Lord Chatham's abilities are restored to their ancient reputation. His violence (I hear) is surprising; the Ministry call him "*mad;*" Opposition calls him "*supernatural;*" and languid men call him "*rather outrageous.*" I have not yet heard him on any debates, as the recess is not at an end. They talk here of a war. A report prevailed yesterday, that Gibraltar was taken, and that the French ambassador had secretly departed. This was confidently affirmed, and as confidently denied.

You left me at Conway. I had scarce reposed in bed, a weary and a feeble body, when I received a request from a gentleman to spend the evening (it was twelve o'clock)

with him. I waived the engagement, set out early, and got the next night to Chester. I travelled from thence post to London, made many speeches in my mind, and amused myself with imaginations, while our friend Bushe amused himself with sleep. He snored so loud, and rumbled so much about the chaise, that I wished to turn him out, but pacified myself with cursing him. I got to London to dinner the third day, and found all my acquaintances assembled together. I have since been much at ease. My chambers (a person less partial would call them garrets) are comfortable and cheerful; they entice me to be domestic and studious. Your friend Birmingham * lives among us entirely. He has tolerably recovered from the most decisive shock that can be given to the human mind, the death of one whom he loved for five years, and lost when obtained. His sisters are gone to Ireland; one was well married a few days ago. You may possibly meet them.

If you come to England you may have apartments in my chambers, and we will live, and harangue, and dispute together. Let me know what you think of the last "Syndercombe." I believe you will think with me, it was unequal; in the first part strong, and precise in the conclusion; in that part he had relaxed the rigour of imitation, and relapsed into his own nervous argumentation. If there comes out any thing here worth relating, you shall receive it,

From yours, most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

* This individual afterwards married Miss Fitzgerald, his wife's sister. He was a pleasing, agreeable, and amiable gentleman.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Windsor Forest, November 22, 1770.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I write this letter from the dullest solitude which even I ever experienced. You know my mind has ever had a hankering after misery; I have cultivated that defect with astonishing success, and have now refined my mind into the most aching sensibility imaginable. I have been of late much alone, in a beautiful situation, but a disagreeable condition, so much so, that it has overcome my taste for books, my passion for writing, and attachment to rurality. I call upon you, in my miserable moments, to arouse your declining friend, a prey to his caprice. I know of no panacea for my mind but you. We have mutually administered to each other's affliction; I to your actual situation, you to the prolific misery of my imagination. The fact is, I have no resolution, and in solitude feel the most frivolous incidents as great calamities; my mind stagnates in retirement, and a drop of adversity circulates in uneasiness all over it. If I have any comfort it is in a friend, to whom I may unbosom myself with safety, for he will not deride my wayward nature; and with consolation, for he will not overlook in me the most causeless uneasiness. Believe me, I long for that future moment, in which you and I, in the romantic composure of some pensive retreat, may enjoy each other's society; where I may find a firm peace of mind, to which I am now a stranger.

When the devastation I speak of will suffer me to apply to nobler objects, and to soar a little above the dregs of the earth, I am not entirely remiss in the pursuits of improvement.

I love the Muse still; I have a sense, though not a feeling, of real happiness; I say to myself, there is no true

felicity, but that which we enjoy by a fine intelligence, contemplating itself and sympathising in conscious friendship. Adversity, certainly, is the Mistress of Philosophy; in an easy situation, I find, in my own mind, the benefit of her instruction, and am tortured into wisdom by the good fortune of my disposition.

You see Opposition is in a languid and a divided state. Death has not spared it. Mr. Grenville's departure was a tremendous blow. He was an able financier, with a contracted but a shrewd mind; the object of the prejudices and hopes of many; a man who had some portion of English principle. He died the first day of the Session. His death was lamented by Barre, who was great that day; his boldness and his fury were engaging, and his military character was sustained with warmth and sense. The debate was conducted but by few who did not in general exert themselves.

I shall go to London to-morrow, where, if any thing happens, in either of the worlds, political or theatrical, I shall mention it to you. Write to me soon, and believe me the same sincere friend you once thought me.

HENRY GRATTAN.

In the autumn of 1770, Mr. Grattan formed a project with his friend Day, of retiring to the country, and embracing a joint plan of rustication, as he called it,—burying themselves in the forest; but Day was induced to break through it, and was led by some friends to visit Holland, and from Amsterdam he wrote his apology.

MR. ROBERT DAY TO MR. GRATTAN.

Amsterdam, Nov. 30th, 1770.

MY DEAR GRATTAN,

I did not expect to be detained here so long, else this should not be my first letter to you. You know, at the other side of the water, I was taught to believe that our peregrination would not exceed three weeks. We are now here five, and are likely to continue two or three more. My curiosity, which is of the thirsty kind, has been quenched on some occasions, and a route, in general unpleasant, has been interspersed with some very laughable and entertaining incidents; but I will candidly own that on balancing the mortifications with the pleasures, I find there is a considerable arrear of the latter yet to be liquidated. I will give you but the outline of our *tour*, and leave you to judge for yourself.

Before we arrived at the Hague, we encountered manifold vexations; a very tedious, unpleasant, and a perilous passage, a dull or a dreary country, very paltry accommodations, miserable roads, miserable conveyances, miserable weather, and a black catalogue of miserable etceteras. But we were in good spirits, and made even our crosses and disappointments subservient to our festivity and entertainment. I would not however be thought to extend this severe censure to the whole of our journey. We met many exceptions to it, better calculated for the subject of conversation than of a letter; I only say that black was the general, not the invariable colour of our route. At the Hague we fared better. We were politely and courteously entertained, and Jack Day essentially served by Sir Joseph York. We were hospitably received by some of the English inhabitants, who understood the flattering terms

we were on with his Excellency, and who are always regulated in their conduct by that of the ambassador. The town itself is incomparably the most elegant thing I ever saw, and it is universally described to be the most delightful scene perhaps in Europe. You will believe that this was not thrown away upon me. In fact I was transported with it, and indeed in the *summer* season a fortnight could not be more agreeably *mispent*, than in visiting the Hague and its environs. Here then we found abundant matter of entertainment, without being obliged to resort for it to ourselves, or to wrest it by dint of spirit from mortification.

I propose, after this age of purgatory is elapsed, to relax ourselves for another week at the Hague. I despair of seeing you in less than a month. Meantime I wish you would take up the pen and remit me a packet of English or Irish politics. A sketch of the first day's debate would make me some amends for having been at a distance from it; it would also be greedily devoured on my return to the Hague by Sir Joseph York, who is "*avidus novarum rerum.*" Is there any truth in the report that a squadron of the Irish Parliament is coming over with a petition? Before I put my name to this, let me touch on a point which I neglected to explain to you at the time we parted: whatever pleasure might have been promised in consequence of this trip—whatever insatiable curiosity I might hope to gratify thereby—I should have declined it all, and remained with you at the cottage, if the term of our pilgrimage was not just expiring. I forgot my duty to myself in the impropriety of deserting you; we had embarked on a joint plan of rustication, and it would have been dishonest to break through the association before the limited time had expired. You, I know, could not have done so; and I repeat that no temptation should have seduced me

from you and the Forest, if the moment of our return had not been at hand. Send me what letters are now at the Grecian, and write to

Your most faithful and
Sincere friend,
ROBERT DAY.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. ROBERT DAY.

December, 1770.

MY DEAR DAY,

YOUR expedition has been exactly what I foresaw, a turbulent idling scene, reconciled by some moments of pleasure. I could wish you had been here. My desire is not entirely interested; you could have got an easy admission into both houses, and have heard debates of much moment and some eloquence. Lord Chatham has been very superior. Burke and Barre have exalted themselves, and Wedderburn has not been silent. Lord Chatham on last Wednesday moved against the finality of the vote of the House of Commons, in such instances as that of the Middlesex election. I did not hear him as well as I could have wished, and the subject is cold. He was outvoted by a large majority. A very important motion was made by Glyn the day after; it was to propose an inquiry into the administration of justice in Westminster Hall, respecting the authority of juries to determine the criminality and to hear evidence of the intention. He alluded to the charge in the trial of the printer, and supported his motion with spirit, depth, and eloquence. He replied to Sir Gilbert Elliot with readiness, a modest fortitude, and an evident superiority. The debate lasted till twelve, and was not remarkable for any peculiar exertion of eloquence, except in Lord Clare, whose speech, I think, was as follows:—

"The motion of the learned Serjeant puts me in mind of a story. I'll tell it to you. It's about Polyphemus. Every man knows Polyphemus. [Here he roared so loud, that the walls almost burst with his vociferation.] He was a giant. He had but one eye. Ulysses, the great traveller, put it out, and when he was asked by his brother Cyclops who had injured him, he said, 'No man,'—and so they all went away and left him. Just so the learned Serjeant tells us the eye of the constitution is injured, but he would not say by whom; and just so all his companions will leave him and go about their business."

In order to encounter the inquiry, the fate of which I need not tell you, Lord Mansfield proposed to leave a copy of his charge (I think it was his charge) on the table of the House of Lords, but was thought irregular in the attempt, and consented to put the paper in his pocket. In this, and in every thing relative to Parliamentary proceedings since the beginning of December, I take my information from the papers, which you probably get, and therefore my narrative must be stale, and may be inaccurate. I shall only mention an absurd, and, I believe, an affected resentment between the two Houses of Parliament. The Duke of Manchester, in a motion relative to the state of the nation, expatiated on her calamities. Lord Chatham was in the house, and was expected to speak with fullness and a superior intelligence, on a subject where his information and ministerial knowledge might be amply displayed. Lord Gower interrupted the Duke, on pretence of the propriety of excluding strangers from a debate in which the secrets of the nation might be revealed. Lord Chatham rose up to speak against the interruption, and to the standing order. The House was in an uproar. "Clear the House!" was rung by every courtier. There was an emulation who who should drown the voice of Lord Chatham, and Den-

bigh's horrid accents seemed to have the ascendancy. The lords of the court, forgetful of their politeness (their last pretence to the character of gentlemen) assumed the office of sergeant-at-arms, and in person drove out all strangers; not only those who did not belong to either house, but the members of the House of Commons did not escape the burlesque interposition of the servants of the crown. The majority of the other house, at the instance of Mr. Onslow, resented or seemed to resent the exclusive rigour of the House of Lords, by imitating it. *

I must here break off:

Truly yours,

HENRY GRATTAN.

* The House of Commons retaliated by excluding all strangers. The clamour was such, that Sir Fletcher Norton (the Speaker) exclaimed, "Gentlemen, be orderly, you are almost as bad as the House of Lords.', Colonel Barre said, "that a bear-garden did not equal the horrid indecency of the peers." Lord Mansfield, who was Speaker in the Lords, did not act. Lord Chatham and others entered a protest against this conduct. The people saw through the entire proceeding.

CHAPTER IX.

Historical retrospect.—System of corruption in Ireland.—Treatment of the Commons.—Increase of the army.—Close of the Townshend ministry.—Political songs.—Mr. Grattan's writings at this period.—His character of Lord Chatham.—Sir Hercules Langrishe.—His character. His Barataria.—Lines on him by Mr. Grattan.—Poem of Langrishe on Miss Catley and Miss Weiwitzer.—Opinions on the late Viceroy.—His conduct at Quebec.—Mr. Flood.—His social character—His style of speaking.—His scholarship and literary talents.—His personal appearance.—The Octennial Bill.—The Militia Bill.—Design of the ministry to destroy the Irish aristocracy.—Flood's acceptance of office.—The Harcourt administration.—Its prodigality.—Ireland and America.

We now return to the affairs of Ireland, and follow the government of the Viceroy to its close.

Lord Townshend not only resorted to the pension list, but adopted another expedient; the commissioners of revenue were a class of men excluded by the laws of England, as well as the spirit of the constitution, from sitting in Parliament; yet these were to be augmented and introduced into

the Parliament of Ireland. Thus the protest, the prorogation, the altered money-bill, the increase of the commissioners of revenue, and their introduction into the House of Commons, show the perverse genius of the government of England; how it forgot itself in its conduct towards Ireland, and how it relaxed into an open contempt for the form as well as the spirit of the constitution.

The country was impoverished by expenses she could not bear, and by pensions she ought not to pay; yet the Government laid heavier burdens upon her, and proposed to increase the commissioners of the revenue from seven to twelve. On a motion of Mr. Flood, however, in November 1771, a resolution that seven commissioners were sufficient, was carried against the court by a majority of 46; and afterwards, on the motion of Mr. Brownlow, it was carried by 123 to 101, that the entire house, with the Speaker at their head, should go to the Castle, and lay the resolution before the Lord Lieutenant.

That was accordingly done, but in utter contempt for their opinion, Government appointed the new commissioners,—seven for the customs and five for the excise,—and set the resolutions of the House of Commons at defiance; the Lord Lieutenant stating in reply that the King's letter had come over to appoint seven commissioners of customs and five commissioners of excise. Accord-

ingly, in December following, the commissioners were appointed.

The army, which consisted of 12,000 men, was increased to 15,000, and with the stipulation that not less than 12,000 should be kept in Ireland for her internal defence; and the use that was made of this increase was to send 4,000 of them away to conquer America, and they evaded the stipulation by holding out a bribe to the country, which they reduced to beggary, offering to save the pay of the troops thus removed from the kingdom.

At length the Townshend ministry ended its career by introducing, in December, another altered money bill, in which the British cabinet had taken off the duties on certain goods imported from Great Britain; which alteration so highly inflamed the people, that the House of Commons even kindled, and on a motion of Mr. Flood, the bill was rejected without a division. The publications of the day teemed with attacks on Lord Townshend. Mr. Flood, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Langrishe inveighed against his administration in various most severe productions, and the following humorous one was composed by Mr. Langrishe on the occasion:

A BALLAD ON THE REJECTION OF THE ALTERED MONEY BILL [1]. — REPUBLISHED WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES, BY VARIOUS AUTHORS.

I.

I'll tell you a story, 'tis not of three crows,[2]
Nor the dog that the letter refus'd to disclose,[2]
But a strife 'mongst the Commons that lately arose,
Which nobody can deny.

II.

They granted their sovereign a gallant supply,
But Thurloe [3] resolved (that Prerogative spy)
That a power to alter their bill he would try,
Which nobody can deny.

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[1] In *absolute* governments, where the people have only a *permitted* property, the will of the *monarch* is the source and the limit of taxation. In *free* governments, like those of Great Britain and Ireland, the reverse obtains; and, therefore, we see that in these, the *will* of the *people*, expressed by their representatives, is the origin and the measure of all supplies; and that the crown hath *only* a power to *accept* or *refuse*, *not* to *propound* or *alter*. Montesquieu.

[2] Two *new* stories invented by Sir George Macartney;—the one, to prove that there would be no protest or prorogation; the other, to show there was no scheme of dividing the revenue-board. People thought he knew these matters better than any one, he being a man of great parts and having *continual access* to his *own* office; but next day, it appeared, that he had *deceived* them, through *forgetfulness*, he having a *treacherous* memory. Stirling.

[3] Attorney-General of England, and *practitioner* at the *bar* of Nandoe's coffee-house. He and his connexions are *notorious* friends of liberty in every part of the British dominions. Boston Gazette.

III.

Then lest that the Commons might take it to heart,
A letter was written by Rochford with art,
To tell them, the change did not matter a —,(*a*)
Which nobody could deny.

IV.

But when to the members this letter was read,
Old Clement suspected, the wise shook their head;
A committee they'd have to compare it, they said,
Which nobody can deny.

V.

And when they examined and found how 'twas altered,
That Rochford had lied, and that Townshend [4] had palter'd,
Burgh [5] swore in a rage, "They ought both to be halter'd,"
Which nobody can deny.

(*a*) An expression whereby the people of Ireland signify their *respect* for Lord Townshend's administration.

[4] He is a very civil nobleman, and wrote me a letter of congratulation on my being elected an alderman of the city of Dublin. He is own brother to the celebrated Charles Townshend, deceased, and was appointed to the lieutenancy of Ireland, in the life-time of his said brother. He is confessed to have done good to this country *one* way or *another*, and is much to be recommended for complying with the prejudices of the people, in giving the Royal assent, which he *could not help*, to the Octennial Bill, though he always declared it would be the ruin of the country, of which there can be no doubt, as it must in the end cause a new bridge to be built over the Liffey. His greatest exploit, as a soldier, was his taking Quebec, sword in hand, in person, and then writing letters to England, ascribing all the glory of the day to General Wolfe, who was dead, and who had no more to say to it than Todd. He also accepted kindly of the money-grants of the parliament of Ireland, on the 27th of December, 1769, giving the Royal assent to the same. He then read,

VI.

Flood,[6] Langrishe,[7] Bushe,[8] Hussey,[9] were all in a flame,
Pery,[10] Brownlow,[11] O'Brien,[12] each patriot name,
Said the bill ne'er should pass, but go back as it came,
Which nobody can deny.

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distinctly, a *civil* protest *against* the Commons, calling them *law-breakers* instead of *law-makers*, to the manifest satisfaction of Judge Robinson, who smiled all the time; and then he *prorogued* the parliament with *great good humour*, having waited to the last minute for the coming in of the packet, to see whether he might not have *leave* to *dissolve* them. His friends advised him to return to England, immediately after the late short Session; but he *prudently* declined their councils, foreseeing that he should return with more advantage after the *successes* of this winter; and accordingly he hath this Session carried the new Commissioners of Excise, and Mr. Dyson's Pension, by a large majority; as also, the altered Money Bill, to the great satisfaction of the English Ministry, and to the mortification of our foolish patriots, many of whom are my customers, for whom I have the greatest respect, veneration, and liking.

G. Faulkner.

[5] A gentleman, whose principles of government differ from those of John Monk Mason, Esq. Com. Journals.

[6] We have done *justice* to this gentleman in the Bachelor, notwithstanding he opposes administration virulently. He thinks a great deal of himself, and imitates Doctor Charles Lucas. He writes *all* the papers in the Freeman and the Hibernian Journals in *verse* and in *prose*. He applied to Lord Townshend for the collection of Kilkenny, in the room of his friend, Mr. Langrishe, and also to be tried for his life, and was refused both. He has talked a great deal of stuff this winter in the parliament-house, and would have talked a great deal more, but for fear of Sir George Macartney and Counsellor Power.

The Authors of Notes on the Epistle to G. E. Howard.

[7] This gentleman is a great joker, but I believe the joke will be against him, when I am collector of Kilkenny. I did not, however, like to see him vote for government the first day of this Session; but the next Sunday I went to levee, with my friend Jemmy Agar, and made the bargain; and Lord Townshend gave me a wink, and laughed, as much as to say,

VII.

The courtiers began at each other to stare,
Will Gamble [13] was absent; Jack Mason not there; [14]
Confusion for once seiz'd on Averell's [15] heir.
Which nobody can deny.

"Joe, you are snug." I hear he has since done for himself on the Money Bill, and exposed himself so much by what he said, that his crony, Harry Flood, *cried* to see him make such a fool of himself.

Joe Mathews.

[8] This young gentleman is a relation of Dean Marlay, who is a friend of Captain Jephson, and therefore probably concerned in some publications against my character. He perfidiously and ungratefully opposed Government, four days after he got an employment, which gave me a good opportunity to lash him in my poetical Dialogue on the Times, when I called him Judas Iscariot, and a goose. Burrowes.

[9] This gentleman's being in parliament must hurt him in his profession, as every body now sees, that he has neither talents nor liberality of sentiment. He does not *stick* to the question as *I do*, but is fond of being personal, without ingenuity. I thought him tolerable, however, upon Scott, and that is the only thing upon which I remember Sir George and me ever to have differed. R. Power.

[10] Government accuses this gentleman of great perfidy, in the refusing to betray the rights of the Commons, though they had placed him in the chair for that purpose.

[11] This is a wrong-headed zealot. He opposes the present administration, though he has no view to getting a place or title by it. Upon the next general election, Sir Arch. Acheson will show him the difference.

A freeholder of Armagh.

[12] This Baronet can have no regard for this country; having no property in it, and being descended from upstarts and aliens.

Sir James Ware.

[13] We have made the strictest enquiry about this gentleman, and can only find that he is related to the Provost.

[14] A person, whose *Republican* principles have prevented his promotion, and justly *endeared* him to the *people*.

[15] By these words the Provost *cannot* be intended; Bishop Averell, though raised to a mitre by his interest only, having ungratefully disap-

VIII.

First *Power* [16] hobbled up, and cried "What is this rout?"
('Twas *he* that gave Blackstone the elegant clout)
Sure Cotton's included, tho' Cotton's left out.
Which nobody can deny.

---

pointed him, by leaving his fortune away from him, which I would not have done. Under the word "Provost," in the index to Guiciardini's History translated, there is a reference to the following passage: "Amongst the rest, there came to this council Francisco Andrea, a bold, bad man. He had some talents, and was thought to have more. His stile and utterance were vulgar and provincial; his pleasantry was gross; and his seriousness boisterous. Of a strong body, he was able; and of a licentious mind, he was willing to accommodate himself to the vices of the great. Next to the turbulent aspirings of his nature, the debauchery of wine was his favourite propensity. But it was his connexion with a woman which raised him. An eminent courtezan, joining to personal charms the grace of theatrical accomplishments, hath access to power, if it be not intrenched in virtue. Francisco's paramour had these advantages, and used them to promote her lover. He thus became an intimate of the worst men in the Papal Court, and readily consented to be the instrument of their views against his country, in order to secure his personal advancement. By their interest he was made president of the principal religious and literary foundation in that country. What indignation did it excite in the wise and virtuous, to behold the education and principles of the rising age committed to such a guardian! The treasures of the academy, piously bequeathed by the former president, were wasted to erect an edifice for the peculiar habitation of his unworthy successor; and in a situation distinct and separate from the seminary, that he might be exempted from the discipline of the society; of a compliance with which he ought to have been the most eminent example. He prostituted his prepositorial authority, to pervert the public principles of the youth, to the end that he might become master of the secular power of the society, and by the most barbarous oppression, injured the fame, and was ultimately instrumental to the untimely death of an ingenuous youth, whose integrity he could not corrupt. He soon became too notorious for hypocrisy, so that his character had no

IX.

Smooth *Godfrey*[17] declared "'twas all one in the Greek,"
And hoped "that we never would act upon pique;
But if George gave a slap, that we'd turn t'other cheek."
Which nobody should deny.

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refuge in vice, and it sought for none in virtue. But never did he so ultimately abandon himself to infamy, as in the government of the second Borgia. Before, there might have been observed in him a total oblivion of right and decency. But the most active and determined flagitiousness was now professed. The gradation of his enormities astonished good men; insomuch, that instead of resolutely opposing their progress, they were rather employed in wondering whither they would reach. The governor, a perverse, violent, timid, capricious, and debauched man, perfectly agreed with Andrea. A sordid, yet expensive household; excess, where it tended to license; and defect in every thing that constitutes dignity, marked this governor's economy. Midnight heard, but did not terminate the uproar of his festivities; whilst in the morning, the halls and galleries of his palace seemed to belong to some deserted mansion; not a domestic was to be seen, nor did they retain any traits of being inhabited, save that they were stained with the surfeit of the overnight's debauch. If you were sent for by Borgia, on business the most important, from the farthest part of the dominion, he frequently was not to be found; so that you returned without even seeing him, unless you might, perhaps, descry him stealing through a postern, to avoid the conference he himself had appointed. His private favours were insults; his public measures were injuries; and if some of his base qualities had not frustrated others of them, his administration must have been public ruin. His cruelty was equal to the dastardliness of his spirit. One instance will suffice. Certain soldiers having been sentenced to be shot, he ordered all the boys who performed the martial music of the battalion, to attend the ceremony of the execution; and the more to sport with the sympathy of their tender minds, he commanded them to walk round and round the panting corpses of these unhappy victims, that not a convulsion nor an agony of expiring nature, might escape their sensibility. Amidst the contempt of the wise, the detestation of the good, and the fury of the populace, Borgia and his favourite Andrea, continued to consort in every vice and folly. Wisdom was, if possible, ensnared;

X.

Macartney [16] profess'd "that for half his estate,
He would not have wish'd this had come in debate,
Tho' he thought the *amendments* were not very great."
Which nobody can deny.

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integrity corrupted; and beauty deceived and injured. Never were two men more fitted for each other, nor for the pursuits in which they were naturally engaged. They had no character to forfeit: they had no compunctions to elude." Dr. Wilder.

[16] A very able and strong built counsellor at law, who maketh many facetious and eloquent speeches in Parliament. His action is forcible and easy; his figure is graceful and compact: the expression of his countenance amiable and forbidding; and his matter equal upon all subjects. He formed himself on the model of Mr. Malone and Mr. Hutchinson—both of whom he much excelleth—the former in dignity and argument, the latter in wit and dexterity. His services have been greatly underrated by Government. He having as yet only gotten an employment of 1,500*l.* per annum, beside another of 600*l.* per annum, which he purchased—nothing but his great intimacy with Sir George Macartney, could have retarded his advancement. He publicly exposed the ignorance of Judge Blackstone in point of law, and very much damaged the first volume of his Commentaries not only by *handling* it very roundly, but by giving it several severe thumps against the benches with much *grace* and *energy*. And it is to this transaction, the poet alludeth by the words, "Elegant Clout."

Authors of the Notes in the Epistle to G. E. Howard.

[17] A rash and unthinking man, who prefers speculative notions of liberty, to the solid and substantial interest of himself and his family. He is a great sloven in his dress; and has twice refused to be made a Chief Judge, though pressed thereto by Mr. Justice Robinson and others.

G. Nangle.

[18] This gentleman, considering the great expectations with which he began the world, hath been unlucky. He was sent to Russia as an ambassador, where he got the rheumatism; and in his return through Poland, he was knighted. He no sooner got to London, than he had the misfortune to be appointed secretary to Lord Townshend. His con-

XI.

"If the bill they rejected," he simper'd and said,
"That the King would appoint a new house in their stead;
And, as for the placemen, they'd forfeit their bread."
Which nobody *should* deny.

XII.

The matter was grave, and all joke was apart;
Joe Miller, *Poor Robin*, and *Watson* so smart,
Were now of use, though he had them by heart.
Which nobody can deny.

---

nexion with a certain unpopular Earl, it is imagined, brought these things upon him. He has the best memory in the world, and retaineth a multitude of things, which nobody else ever remembered. He not only hath by heart Joe Miller, but the Wit's Vade Mecum, the Merry Fellow, Nash's Jests, Every Man his own Companion, and a variety of other ingenious authors, so as that he is never at a loss for something to say.

By Poor Robin.

We are told, the poet alludeth to a celebrated ancient ode, entitled "the Babes in Wood." That shining performance, Watson's Almanack, was of singular service to this gentleman and to his country, and gave him great influence in the northern courts, by enabling him to foretell an eclipse. He hath a large rental, which he ordered to be laid on the table of the House of Commons for the perusal of the members. His remembering and quoting during dinner, at Lord Holland's table, every word of a pamphlet, written by his lordship, entitled "Every Man his own Broker," recommended him much to that nobleman's attention, who generously gave him just notions of the prerogative royal. When the Commons pretended to *share* with the Privy Council in framing money-bills, he spoke roundly to them, and told them that it was very ungenteel when they were giving a present to make a rout about it, or, as he very significantly expressed it, "*to look a gift-horse in the mouth.*" He is a man of great abilities, but he is so modest that he can never bring himself to make much use of them; and publicly declaring, one day when he expected to die of the gripes, or some obstruction in the Parliament-house, that he would have no monument, being satisfied to be entombed in the hearts of his countrymen.

Authors of the Notes on the Epistles G. E. Howard.

XIV.

The Prime Serjeant then with a *shuffling* preamble;[19]
Like a *nag* that before he can *canter* must *amble*,
Betwixt right and wrong made a whimsical *shamble*.
Which nobody can deny.

XIII.

"'Twas important," he said, "and avail'd not a groat,
But whether it was *right*, or whether it was *naught*,
Or whether he'd vote *for it*, or whether he would *not*,"
He'd neither assert nor deny.

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[19] What diverts me most in this ge'mman is, his anxiety for fear of losing popularity, as if he had any to lose. He is jealous of me, and as peevish as an old maid. I love to tease him. I endeavour to put him on as odious ground as I can in Parliament, and then I am the first to complain of him that Government should expose their servants to so much obloquy without occasion. I magnify to him the favours and confidence I receive from Government, and my correspondence with Rigby, &c., which nettles him to the heart. He is finical for Lord Townshend, who makes very good sport of him. One day he dined at the Castle, and when the company broke up, Lord Townshend, who pretended to be more in liquor than he was, threw his arms about his neck and cried out, "My dear Tisdall, my sheet-anchor! my whole dependance! Don't let little Hutchinson come near me; keep him off, my dear friend; he's damned tiresome, keep him off." At other times his Excellency makes formal appointments to dine at Palmerstown at a distant day. The Prime Serjeant invites all the officers of state; Mrs. Hutchinson is in a flurry; they send to me for my cook; and after a fortnight's bustle, when dinner was half spoiled, his Excellency sends an excuse and dines with any common acquaintance that he happens to meet in strolling about the street that morning. This ge'mman has a pretty method enough of expressing himself indeed, but in points of law there are better opinions. My friend, the late primate, who knew men, said, that the Prime Serjeant was the only person he had ever met with, who got ready money in effect, for every vote he gave in Parliament. He has got, among the rest, the reversion of my secretary's office; but I think I shall outlive him. Phil. Tisdall.

XV.

The next that stepp'd forward was innocent *Phil*,[30]
Who said, "that in things of the kind he'd no skill,
But yet that he thought it a mighty good bill."
Which nobody could deny.

XVI.

Then moved to adjourn to Monday, or so,
"That Townshend might *talk* to each friend and each foe,
And *then* he could guess how the matter would go."
Which nobody can deny.

XVII.

Thus Hely, Sir George, Godfrey, Power, and Phil,
Would fain have seduced them to swallow this pill;
But the Commons soon smoked them, and threw out the bill.
Which nobody can deny.

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[30] This gentleman has not been long in Parliament; and has not had an opportunity, therefore, of learning the craft of politics: but with the simplicity and innocence of youth and inexperience, has always espoused the popular party in this country, and resisted the encroachments of the crown. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he has never received any considerable favours from the Government, or that his offices at present should not exceed 5000*l.* per annum. He has, however, obtained lately a reversionary grant of the alnager's place, after the death of John Hely Hutchinson, Esq., with a promise that a pension of 1000*l.* a year, *at will*, which the *latter* hath lately obtained, shall be annexed to the office as an *additional salary*, for the life of the said Philip Tisdall; which accounts for that inviolable affection which subsists between them. He gave his interest in Ardee to Mr. Ruxton against his own brother, rather than disturb the ancient and well-grounded rights of that worthy patriot; and generously refused to harass that gentleman with a vexatious suit, assisted by a confederacy in the Courts, and on the bench, though he might thereby have put money into his said brother's pocket, who is an officer of the court, and at least enabled him to have carried on the contest at Mr. Ruxton's expense. Dick Dawson.

XVIII.

And here we conclude our historical strain;
So God bless his Majesty, long may he reign,[21]
To alter our *money-bills* always—in vain!
Which nobody can deny.

It was at this period that Mr. Grattan wrote the character of Lord Chatham. The popular party in Ireland were then engaged in a fierce political controversy with Lord Townshend, and in a number of publications attacked his government. Those written by Mr. Grattan were, "Posthumus," "Pericles," and the dedication of "Barataria." He read them to his friends, and they were struck by the description of Lord Chatham. Langrishe observed that they should not let that go. "But how shall we introduce it?" said Flood. Langrishe, whose mind was ever playful, arranged it rather drolly.—"I'll settle it thus. We'll put it in a note, as if from Dr. Robertson. He is going to publish a new edition of his America—that is Chatham's subject; so we shall say we have been favoured with this character of the champion of the colonies." The idea was droll; the party agreed to it; and many believed that

[21] I hope this will amount to high treason! It wishes His Majesty to live long, but then it is only on condition, it should seem; and that a condition which, it is to be hoped, will fail, viz., that His Majesty may be frustrated in the assertion of his prerogative over the money of his subjects. May not this be construed into a species of imagining the king's death? Quere, vide Scroggs and Jeffries, the Doct. on ship-money, and my pamphlet in 1753 above all. Chri. Robinson.

the character came from Dr. Robertson, and in vain looked for it in his history. To this circumstance was owing the preservation of that admirable production.

Some remarks may here not inaptly be made on the character of Sir Hercules Langrishe. He was a man born for society, and endowed with qualities that would have charmed a court without the aid of flattery. The brightness of his mind, and the flashes of his wit, cast a lustre on all he touched, and whenever he appeared, it was sunshine all around. His mind was a perpetual spring. No winter ever made its appearance there. He possessed much good judgment, and from afar he could distinguish the bearing of political measures and trace them to their consequences. He perceived very early the folly and the errors of past governments, and he gave his support to the leading measures in favour of his country. He was liberal in his sentiments and principles, and was not merely a strenuous advocate, but a firm champion, for the religious liberties of his countrymen; and he urged their claims with unwearied zeal. As a speaker he was never deficient, but in speaking he did not resort to his wit or his humour. His manner was easy and agreeable, his taste was correct, and his humour playful and irresistible. His style was excellent, and his writings full of lightness and pleasantry.

The characters that he draws in the fic-

titious work entitled *Barataria*, are admirable, and for the most part just. He was a fine painter, and had the pencil of a master. The description of Dorothea Monroe is beautiful, and was worthy of the original. That of the attorney-general (Tisdall) is inimitable; his grave countenance is precisely depicted. "*Don Philip, the Moor, looked dismal, but felt not the least concern:*" this was exactly the individual, concealing his sentiments while his mind was wholly indifferent. Bumperoso represented Andrews, a jovial good-humoured character, possessing a vulgar mirth which made itself agreeable, but without an idea of principle.

Like the poetry of ancient bards, the witticisms of Sir Hercules Langrishe have met with oral tradition. Some of them were strongly expressive of his national feeling. On one occasion, when riding with the Lord Lieutenant in the Phœnix Park, his Excellency complained of his predecessors, and asked why they had left the place in such a wet and swampy state; Langrishe replied, "*they were too much occupied in draining the rest of the kingdom.*" On another occasion, being asked where could be found the best history of Ireland, he answered, "in the continuation of *Rapin.*"

Langrishe lived to a considerable age, courted by all and beloved by many. In 1810, I accompanied Mr. Grattan to see him. He was then approaching seventy-eight, but full of mirth and

humour. "Come," said he, "I must have a Henry Grattan on either side;" and, sitting down between us, he referred to times past, when Flood, Burgh, Daly, E. Malone, and Mr. Grattan, used to meet and debate in political conclave. He repeated the passages just mentioned from "Barataria," and dwelt upon the charms of Miss Monroe, of whom he was reckoned the admirer. In a short time after he died, and Mr. Grattan wrote the following lines:—

Oh, friend! and while with death-like step thy hearse
Goes to the grave, may I in weeping verse,
By love, by duty, and by sorrow led,
Attend the bier, and there review the dead
Departed friend. Oh, thou wert born to please,
And live with mirth, serenity, and ease.
Thine was the ready turn, the pleasant hit,
Thou soul of sunshine, and thou god of wit.
For ever gentle, and for ever gay,
Thy life a philosophic comedy.
Satire withheld the sting, but gave the dart
The keenest humour, and the kindest heart.
Alas! thy humour and thy wit are gone,
And the gay colours of the life are flown.
Sunk in the grave what varied powers we see;
How many pleasant thoughts have died with thee!
He loved his country, and he loved her laws;
He drew his pen in freedom's sacred cause;
He sung his country's graces as her wrong;
Love reached his heart, and love improved his song.
See, Barataria comes his death to mourn!
And Dorothea* weeping o'er his urn!

* Miss Munroe, afterwards Mrs. Richardson, one of the most distinguished beauties of that day.

Farewell! I borrow from the grave the hour
It lends me to survive, and to deplore
Thy matchless merit, and the death to mourn
Of wit and worth that never will return;
So may thy gracious spirit wing its way,
And give a brighter joy to Heaven's immortal day!

The following poem was composed by Sir Hercules Langrishe on two celebrated female singers, who appeared in Dublin and were highly admired for their personal charms as well as for their talents.

THE NIGHTINGALE AND THE LARK.—APPLIED TO MISS CATLEY AND MISS WEIWITZER.*

Two songsters, of the feather'd kind,
In friendly emulation join'd,
Explored the secret sweets of sound,
And scattered melody around.

The lark aspired to touch the skies,
Beyond the reach of human eyes,
Pouring before the list'ning throng
The wild profusion of her song.
'Twas wonderful—'twas sweet—'twas clear;
Yet forced no sigh, yet drew no tear;
For, tuned by accident or fashion,
And not the growth of any passion,
It leaves no trace beyond the present,
And is but whimsically pleasant.
She wafts wild notes from pole to pole;
But independent of the soul,
She strikes you only with surprise;
She aims, but wounds not, as she flies.

* This lady afterwards married Lord Tyrawly.

The God of Pleasure smil'd; but knew
He yet had something more to do;
And forth, from a sequester'd dale,
He call'd his favourite nightingale.
With virgin tears, and graceful shame,
Trembling, the little warbler came;
With chasten'd note, with magic song,
That bear th' enraptur'd sense along,
And consecrate the sacred grove,
To sensibility and love.

She shunn'd the tumult and the crowd,
The light, the frivolous, and loud;
And in the silent, sober shade,
In all her lovely looks array'd,
Pour'd forth a silver sound, that stole
From the recesses of her soul;
And every heavenly note she sings
Bespeaks the source from which it springs.

Her chaste, and pure, and polish'd strain
Maintain a regulated reign,
And can, with gentle sway, controul
Each fond emotion of the soul;
Diffuse her influence through the grove,
As nature true, as soft as love.

The warm, the amorous, and the young
Feel all th' enchantment of her song;
Whilst cold philosophy may praise
The strict refinement of her lays;
The sons of levity and noise,
Dull votaries to vulgar joys!
Whose souls are of a coarser clay,
May drink no rapture from her lay!
But to heap offerings on her shrine,
Talents, and taste, and genius join.

Sweet bird! may no ungenial blast
Thy temperate dawning overcast!
May neither violence nor fraud
Pursue thy footsteps, whilst abroad!

And may it never be your fate,
To find that a defenceless state,
A life of innocence and ease,
With every power and wish to please,
Without one talent to do harm,
Can wake that spleen it should disarm!
May some good genius be thy friend,—
Auspicious on thy steps attend;
Protect thee still from every foe,
And guard the song that charms us so!
May love, and peace, and friendship rest
Perpetual inmates in your breast,
To stamp a bliss that may endure,
To make you blest as you are pure;
To tune that song, that charm'd the groves,
To your own raptures, your own loves!

The people naturally began to speculate upon the character of the Viceroy, whose conduct in the instances before related appeared so exceptionable. They found that he had not been a real friend of the Octennial Bill; that he had not given, though he had promised, a Judge's Bill; that he was not a general advocate for liberty; and that his conduct* in America was no exception to the other parts of his life. His situation

* On the death of General Wolfe at Quebec, Colonel Townshend, eager to obtain the glory, accepted the surrender of the town. But this conduct was so improper, that he was obliged to make an apology in writing to General Monckton, who succeeded Wolfe as next in command, and was the superior officer to Townshend. When the latter returned to England and presented himself at levee, George II. was so much displeased, that he turned away;—upon which Charles Townshend, his brother, pushed him on till he got the King to speak to him; which he was not persuaded to do, without some difficulty.

to an ordinary man would have been alarming; he was sinking under the weight of an odious system; attacked by men whose animosity he had provoked, and whose talents he feared; entangled in a number of engagements; existing, not on political credit, but on the credulity of the creditor; disliked by the nation, and in Parliament honourably assailed and meanly supported.

His imprudence now brought affairs to a close; and in the month of February, 1772, Sir James Cotter moved, "that whoever had advised the King, after the resolutions of the 19th of November last, to appoint the new commissioners, had recommended a measure contrary to the sense of the House." This was supported by Flood, Brownlow, Hussey Burgh, Ponsonby, and Fitzgibbons (the father). The numbers, on a division, were equal, being 106 each, and it was on this occasion, as before alluded to, that the spirit and dignity of Mr. Pery were displayed, when he gave his casting vote in favour of the Privileges of the House.

Mr. John Fitzgibbons, the individual just mentioned, was father to the Earl of Clare, but a very different character; plain, straightforward, and unostentatious. He lived retired and much respected, hating all parade and grandeur, except the true grandeur of simplicity. Probably an aid-de-camp never entered his room. As a lawyer, he

stood high in his profession, and practised with much success and high repute. On coming to the bar, he published a work, entitled, "Notes on Cases determined at Westminster," which for its accuracy, received the commendation of Lord Hardwicke, then Chancellor. He had gone the circuit as Judge, in 1771, and in Waterford had made excellent charges to the grand juries, entreating them, in a manner unusual in a judge, to encourage their domestic manufactures, as the best means then of supporting the people, and preventing the ruin of the country. He was for a long time Member of Parliament, and took part against Lord Townshend's Government; and in November of 1773, after a very able speech, had moved resolutions condemning the profusion of the administration, and recommending a retrenchment in the expenses of Government. He had been a Roman Catholic, had conformed twice, and having acquired money in his profession, he made a landed purchase; but fearful of a flaw in the title, it was said that he turned discoverer to his own estates, in order that he might more effectually have the benefit of the Popery Laws.

Notwithstanding the imperious conduct on the part of the Viceroy before mentioned, the disregard manifested by Government to the opinions of the House, and to the address which they presented, yet in the month of May, 1773, they were so compliant as to vote an address of thanks to Lord

Townshend, for his administration of the affairs of the country.

It was on a motion of Sir Lucius O'Brien, respecting the expenses of Government, that Mr. Flood made the remarkable speech, censuring in the highest degree, the conduct of Lord Townshend. The following is the only fragment that remains, and as it has never yet appeared among his speeches, it is here given. The praise that he claims for the passing the Octennial Bill is more than he deserved; Doctor Lucas is entitled to a great portion, and so likewise is Mr. Flood.

Mr. Flood said, "I am not in anywise amazed, that those who are under obligations to Lord Townshend should attempt to defend his conduct. Gratitude exacts this duty from them, and the debt, though paid at the expense of their integrity, yet the justice of this private virtue may seemingly account for; but as I am under no such compliment to that Noble Lord, I will speak my thoughts with freedom, and express my sentiments unawed. For my part, I have ever opposed the administration of Lord Townshend, not from personal pique or private spleen, but from a manifest, from a warranted conviction, that he had acted wrong. I have, since the opening of the Session, rather been silent on his conduct, because I wished those wounds which he gave my country might be healed, and that a name so hateful to the virtuous part of this House

should be buried in oblivion. But when I find unmerited applause bestowed, unjust panegyric given, and he who deserves the severest censure adorned with laurels, I cannot patiently sit and silently listen. A gentleman (Mr. Agar) on my left hand, has called the Noble Lord to order because he should dare to speak against his patron. Who was it first began the theme? I appeal to the House, if from the Government side the altercation did not originate? An honourable member opposite to me first mentioned Lord Townshend; I did not, nor did any of my friends; *they* brought him forward, and are answerable for what has been, or may be said of him. It was observed, in this now absent nobleman's praise, that the most salutary laws we ever experienced owed their being enacted to him. I deny it from my soul. I speak with confidence, nor am I apt to tell untruths. The Octennial Bill, which has been so loudly echoed as his deed, he derives not the smallest merit from. It was I who first gave the assisting hand to that excellent law; nor am I *ashamed* to pay myself the compliment; for honest fame is the just reward of an upright heart, and I am not averse to the gift. I followed the bill to the other side, and when it was the doubt of the minister whether it should pass, I told him the arguments that were its foundation. In this I was backed by Lord Chatham, and the minister allowed them unanswerable. I

therefore do aver, that from this transaction Lord Townshend cannot expect the shadow of honour. I speak freely, for I am afraid of no man. I seek no favour, but the applause which may flow from performing my duty. I am under (as I said before), no obligation to this or that Viceroy, and I believe I may say I rejected proffered benefits. I shall now only remark, that from every observation I could make—from every observation an honest man could make—Lord Townshend acted as an enemy, a professed enemy to our country, our constitution, and our liberties: for which reason, instead of panegyric, he should, by every real friend to Ireland, be treated as a PUBLIC MALEFACTOR. The protest for which that Noble Lord was so justly censured, was his own sole act, therefore he deserved all that could be said against it. The Honourable Member on the opposite floor (Mr. Mason) formerly did oppose the Octennial Bill, and now he would give to his benefactor praise for it. So that either Lord Townshend can derive no merit from the act, supposing him to have done it, or he (Mr. Mason) must be wrong in opposing it. But for my part, I want not any proof to reconcile to my own mind that the law was in every respect salutary; for I look on it to be what it has been, and will be proved,—an Act of the greatest public utility both to the country and the constitution."

We must here give some account of this able,

this talented, and singular individual, Mr. Flood. He was one of the most remarkable personages who had then appeared in Ireland. He was the leading character of the day, and one of the most able and most eloquent Members of Parliament, and the first who introduced oratory into the House of Commons. He was an excellent man for party; ever ready and prepared, his knowledge enabled him to attack, and his natural talent and powers of satire gave him great advantage in reply. Quick, sharp, and severe; a good debater, and possessed of the art of giving great annoyance to a government, or to a minister; for even if defeated, he returned undaunted to the charge, and renewed the contest with surpassing dexterity and perseverance. In his speaking there was a semblance of elaboration, and much solemnity, though in his opening he was rather too slow for a popular audience. His figures were correct, his arguments just, and his matter often affecting. His voice was good, though his articulation was not perfectly free from an Irish accent, and its tones were sometimes harsh and discordant. He was a great master of logic, which, though it sometimes tires, yet in this case obtained for him great admiration; and the University of Dublin, accustomed to syllogisms, poured forth its numerous and ardent hearers, who conferred upon him the palm of oratory. Though his compositions were good, they were

not sufficiently flowing, and were often long and didactic. But his spirit, his passion, his strength of mind, overcame all lesser defects; and when he grew strongly animated, and his temper somewhat ruffled, he bore down all before him, and spoke, especially in reply, with masterly ability. He always improved as he proceeded in a debate; for he was superior in the art of disputation, and was an excellent wrangler; so that his second speech was *better* than his first, and his third would have been superior to either.

Mr. Flood was born in 1732, and brought into Parliament for the county of Kilkenny, in the last year of the reign of George the Second. He was educated for the bar, but enjoyed an independent fortune, and possessed considerable influence in the country. His taste and his talents inclined him to politics, to which he had from an early period applied himself, and had been a diligent attendant on the House of Commons. His industry in his youth was remarkable. He had taken great pains with himself; and though affected by a severe malady, which left its ravages on his person, and somewhat impaired his speaking, yet he overcame the defect, and succeeded. His great perseverance and application brought him through. He composed much; was an excellent classical scholar—fond of poetry—and wrote it with much taste. He had translated two books of Homer; and copied, with alterations and addi-

tions, the two last books of Milton's Paradise Lost. He wrote out from every play in Shakspeare, the most beautiful passages, and collected them in small manuscript volumes. He had translated the finest speeches of Demosthenes,—and read them to Mr. Hussey Burgh, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Daly. All these manuscripts have unfortunately been lost.

Mr. Flood had studied Cicero with great care, and learned by heart the finest passages, which he used to repeat with much taste and feeling. He was possessed of an excellent and a happy memory; and his conversation was pleasing and instructive. He gave a fire and a spirit to the political society of that day, which proved of great utility. Ireland was much indebted to him; and it may justly be said that he was the first who gave a free turn to the times in which he lived, and a spirit and a tone to Irish liberty.

Mr. Flood was fond of hunting; and his convivial habits rendered him very popular. His influence was in consequence very great. The county of Kilkenny, in which he resided, was remarkable for the wit and mirth of its society, and many humorous anecdotes relating to those times are still remembered and related. Private theatricals were much in fashion in those days, and several plays were acted at Flood-hall, and at Sir Hercules Langrishe's, who resided in the neighbourhood. At one of these representations,

Flood performed the part of "Macbeth;" and as he lay stretched on the stage, Langrishe recited to the audience an Epilogue which he had composed for the occasion; reflecting with much humour on the characters of the several actors, and among others on Flood—that he had been quiet for several years, but that when he had spoken, it was for the good of his country. This amused the audience; for Flood, who lay on the stage all the time, was obliged to listen to this critique on his own conduct, and was very desirous that the dying scene should conclude. Instead of joining in the mirth, he grew angry, and wrote a Prologue for the ensuing day, in which he attacked Langrishe with some severity, and ended by saying, "*Though not a Commissioner—much worse than Mason.*" It was supposed that Langrishe was desirous of being appointed commissioner, and that Mr. Mason was not the ablest of public officers. The party were dissatisfied with Flood, who should have let the matter pass over, and Langrishe would have been blamed for his remark; but as Flood took it up, it shewed a jealous disposition, and caused some displeasure.

Flood seemed to possess a mind that was not only elastic, but indomitable. On one occasion, being extremely ill, he was obliged to undergo a painful operation, and the next day his friends went to see him, fearing that he would be low and depressed in consequence; but, on the contrary,

to their great surprise and satisfaction, they found him quite elate, full dressed, powdered, his sword at his side, and in great spirits.

In his youth, Flood had been handsome. He had a fine figure, an imposing aspect, but a somewhat gaunt appearance. His action in public speaking was good, and his delivery impressive. His manners were captivating, and in private he was most agreeable—the very reverse of what he was in public;—there was then nothing of invective, nothing harsh or severe. He had the art of conciliating every body by his pleasant narratives, lively anecdotes, and great classical taste. In conversation he contrived to lower his own opinion of himself, and to raise that of his adversary; and he never suffered himself to be soured, or to lose his temper in argument, but yielded to his opponent, and sent him away delighted with his success, and with Mr. Flood's manner. No one knew the practical art of reasoning in private, better than he did. He never contradicted; he listened patiently; and if he differed, he never introduced altercation. But not so in public: there he often offended, and then he undermined his adversaries. His reply on the question of *simple repeal,* is a dry argument. His defence of himself, in reply to Mr. Grattan's attack, is an ingenious and good composition. His speech in 1763, on Doctor Lucas's motion, when he introduced the Bill for shortening the duration of

Parliament, is lost, but was said to have been excellent. It was the first important question in which he took part.

Doctor Lucas and Mr. Flood got leave to bring in a Bill to limit the duration of Parliament. The bill had been introduced by Dr. Lucas in 1761; it passed in the Privy Council, and was lost in England; but it was again urged in the three succeeding sessions (then biennial), and on the second of these occasions, Mr. Flood gave it a most animated and eloquent support. He began with a grave emphasis:—

"Sir—I came down to this House undecided; I had to form my opinion. I listened and felt convinced; I listened with attention, and I changed my conviction. From the hoary senator who spoke the language of his heart, down to the ingenuous youth who promise to their country a succession of virtue,—I was convinced by their arguments; I was delighted with their eloquence."

This style had its effect, and was received with much applause; though perhaps it was not very natural or very candid; but it grew so much upon him, that Mr. G. Bushe said, "he was like a beauty who preserves her airs, after she has lost her charms."

Possibly it was not ill adapted to a young country; and to Flood's eloquence, the success of that measure (the Octennial Bill) is in

a great degree to be attributed. The deliberate wisdom of Mr. Pery; the exertions of Provost Andrews, not only in the House of Commons, but in the Council; and, above all, the bold and intrepid perseverance of Dr. Lucas; these ultimately carried the measure.

Notwithstanding what Mr. Flood said upon the subject (as before referred to) he would have had more credit, had he claimed less; others would have given him the praise which, having assumed to himself, they were disposed to deny him.

The extravagant grants in pensions, by which Lord Townshend's Administration was distinguished, were opposed by Mr. Flood with great ability; and he annoyed the Government, by attacking all their jobs, and exposing their malpractices. In 1766 he introduced a *Militia Bill*, in a speech distinguished for brilliant and impressive eloquence; but the majority which Ministers then were sure to command, rendered all his efforts fruitless. The bill was rejected, and never after revived.

Like most of the Governments of Ireland, that of Lord Townshend's was corrupt and profligate. Its principle, like that of Lord Clare's in after times, was to *govern* by corruption; and places were created, divided, and diffused over the country, for the purposes of bribery, in order to effect the object which Government then had in view—the destruction of the aristocracy; for the dawn of

national spirit that began to manifest itself in 1753, had alarmed the British Government, and they thought it incumbent on them to repress every approach towards public virtue, however feeble or remote. There were, at that time, two or three families whose junction would have considerably embarrassed the Minister, and have rendered it difficult for him to have carried his measures, and whose *criminal* affection for liberty and popular rights, began to be viewed by Government with a jealous eye, and a vindictive disposition. The Duke of Leinster, the Ponsonbys, and Lord Shannon, were the principal leaders, and formed a party much better calculated for the direction of the affairs of the country than the government of men whose avowed principle was corruption; and who, as was afterwards openly declared, had expended half a million in their infamous traffic. *

This government Mr. Flood opposed on principle. The proceeding which drew forth his most spirited exertions, was the conduct of the Lord Lieutenant, on the rejection of the Money Bill by the House of Commons, in 1769. The Bill had originated in the Privy Council, and was sent to the Commons, and by them very properly rejected. As representatives of the people, they were the guardians of the public *purse*, and justly

* See speech of Mr. Fitzgibbon, Attorney-General, afterwards Earl of Clare; also Mr. Grattan's speech.

claimed the right to grant the public money, and to originate all bills of supply. The Lord Lieutenant, indignant at the rejection of a measure which had taken rise in his council, and to which he expected the submissive assent of the House of Commons, proceeded to enter his protest on the Journals of the House of Lords, in imitation of the precedent set by Lord Sydney; and after that he prorogued the parliament.

At this, the opposition took fire, and Mr. Flood attacked the government with unrelenting severity. He did not confine himself to his sphere as Member of Parliament, but commenced a series of letters in the Freeman's Journal, under the signature of "Syndercombe," abounding in spirit, principle, and ability; in some degree resembling Junius in point of style, but deficient in ease, and burthened with a forced affectation of metaphor. These letters were replied to by Mr. Jephson, under the signature of "Broghill;" but these replies are a weak production, displaying little talent and no principle.

All these efforts, however, were of no avail; the heavy hand of Government bore down every thing beneath it, and Parliament would not afford any effectual resistance to its acts of power, or its arts of seduction. Mr. Flood grew dissatisfied. He complained to a person, from whom I heard it, that he could not trust any man or any party. When he had acted with a party, their views were

discovered; when he had acted with a few, their views were also discovered; and when he acted even with one individual, his views were betrayed. He said, the only way any thing could be effected for the country was, by going along with Government, and making their measures diverge towards public utility, and thereby some acquisition would be gained by the people. He was disappointed at finding that his abilities, however great, had proved of little service to his country; and that his ambition, which was not inconsiderable, had no chance of being gratified; the people being so weak that they could not assist any opposition, and the Government so powerful that they could not be opposed with any certainty of success. He saw that the public mind was in its infancy,—that it wanted instruction,—that it wanted political knowledge and political courage, and was not ripe for action. No sinister events from without had as yet befallen the Empire, that could shake the ministerial incubus which stifled every national sentiment, and depressed every attempt at public virtue.

Such were, perhaps, the feelings which operated on the mind of Mr. Flood, and rendered him unquiet and dissatisfied. They soured his temper, and were unfortunately fostered, and finally brought into action, by the successful arts of Lord Harcourt's ministry in 1772. Sir John Blaquiere was at that time secretary. An artful,

a corrupt, and a cunning minister, he was acquainted with Mr. Flood, and was jealous of his fame and abilities; he resolved, therefore, if possible, to ruin him; accordingly, he courted his society, flattered his talents, and, after much political cajolery, he at length persuaded him to accept office. In October, 1775, Mr. Flood took the place of *Vice Treasurer*, with £3500 a-year salary.

Nothing could be more unfortunate for Mr. Flood than such a step. Money was no consideration to him; for his private fortune amounted to £4000 or £5000 a year. Of the abilities of his new associates he entertained no very favourable idea, and of their honesty he could entertain still less.

The Harcourt administration stood unrivalled in Ireland for expense and prodigality. The new pensions granted at that period amounted to no less a sum than £25,000. The salaries of the three Vice-Treasurers of Ireland, and of the Clerk of the Pells, were increased by an addition of £1000 a-year to each. The embargo, which involved a dispensing power, almost beggared the nation. The address of the 10th of October, 1775, and the consequent vote of 4000 men in the following month, to fight against America, who was contending for a principle favourable to Ireland, were acts mean in principle, ruinous in policy, and, to the liberties of Ireland, (if ever she

obtained any,) must have proved fatal in the extreme.

Yet, such a Ministry, and such measures, it was the fate of Mr. Flood to countenance. He did it, however, with as little fervour as could be expected from an individual whose mind was impressed with popular tendencies. He sat upon the upper benches of the House, and generally remained silent. Sometimes, however, he spoke, but rather to find fault with, than to oppose Government.

The question of the American war involved a principle that virtually affected Ireland. It was a principle of liberty, for if America was put down, Ireland would not rise; and Lord Chatham justly observed, that "*Ireland was American.*" The address of the 10th of October committed her to the war, and, in the next month, Ministers compelled her to embark in it. They proposed that 4000 men should be sent from the Irish establishment to fight the Americans. The stipulated defence of Ireland was originally 12,000 men, and Parliament, conceiving that force too small, had, in 1767, voted an increase of 3000 men, which were constantly to be kept up in Ireland, except in cases of invasion or insurrection in Great Britain. This stipulation was, by the proposed vote, directly infringed; and Parliament was induced, in the time of danger, to diminish the establishment, and leave Ireland exposed,

and to send against America 4000 "*armed negotiators*," as Mr. Flood termed them. But this measure, so hostile to the freedom of America, was the most fortunate event for the liberties of Ireland, as it gave birth to that illustrious band of patriots—the Irish Volunteers. Thus was Mr. Flood instrumental, though unconsciously, in effecting the measure which the Government that he supported most feared and were most averse to. Had the regular army not been withdrawn, the free citizens would not have been called forth to defend their country; or had they aimed at the restoration of their rights, they might have been worsted by the superior skill which a regular army must possess over inexperienced troops, however ardent and enthusiastic. How often is it that nations as well as men commit the greatest errors in those very points where they appear impregnable.

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Grattan at the Temple.—Political excitement.—Character of Wilkes —Sketch of the events of those times, by Mr. Grattan.—Lord Chatham's Ministry—Inutility of opposition to it.—Court of Prince Frederick.—The Whigs and the Aristocracy.—Retirement of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle.—The tables turned.—Birth of the Whig Minority.—Appointment of the Chatham Ministry.—Return of Wilkes from exile—His election for Middlesex—His outlawry reversed—His reception by the people—His fine and imprisonment—His treatment by the Government.—Lord Weymouth's letter.—Wilkes repeatedly elected for Middlesex, and as repeatedly rejected by the House of Commons—This measure defended.—Petitions of the people.—Formidable opposition.—Beckford.—Granby.—Camden.—Grenville.—Cowardice of the Ministry.—Inefficacy of the Opposition—Reasons for this.—Unparalleled luxury and licentiousness of the time.—Mr. Grattan's report of Lord Chatham's Speech on Wilkes's expulsion.—Mr. Grattan's description of Lord Chatham's speaking—Examples of his style.—Original letter of George III. relative to Lord Chatham.

At the period when Mr. Grattan was at the Temple, political excitement was at its height. The important events that had occurred, and the subjects then discussed, were calculated to rouse the feelings and excite the ardour of all men, even the most moderate and lukewarm, in the cause of civil liberty. Lord Chatham and the American

contest; Mr. Wilkes and the "North Briton," his libellous and blasphemous publications, the arbitrary and formidable doctrine of general warrants; the Middlesex election, and the assumed right of the House of Commons to expel and disqualify;—these were questions well calculated to engross the mind of Mr. Grattan; they formed fine subjects of contemplation for his ardent and enthusiastic character, and served to confirm in his mind the early attachment he had formed for the rights and privileges of his fellow-subjects. The seed of those spirit-stirring materials was thus early implanted in his breast, and his country reaped, in due season, a harvest fertile and abundant.

Lord North (the best of private men and the worst of public ministers), then held the reins of government; from 1769 to 1782 he ruled with fatal sway, and urged headlong, in his impetuous career, the fates, the fortunes, and the reputation of Great Britain. His conduct in the case of Mr. Wilkes was weak and violent, arbitrary and unconstitutional. Mr. Burke very properly termed it "a tragi-comedy, acted by his Majesty's servants, at the desire of several persons of quality, for the benefit of Mr. Wilkes, and at the expense of the Constitution."

Mr. Grattan addressed his friend Broome on the parliamentary proceedings of this period; but before we refer to them more particularly, we

may describe the character of this singular individual, who then engrossed the public attention.

Mr. Wilkes was possessed of a reputation abroad superior to his estimation at home, and of an estimation at home superior to his desert. Spleen had made him oppose, and accident had made him great in opposition. He had not those popular and substantial qualities which could enable him to sustain the weight of the public attention. Successive persecution was necessary to his importance, and he was admired, not as he was admirable, but as he was unfortunate. He had little or no eloquence; he possessed a very small share of literary talent; was without property, family, or personal worth. He was not, however, destitute of talents, with a good manner, exquisite politeness in society, a singular presence of mind, courage,* a pleasing levity, and the most

* He fought a duel in 1762 with Lord Talbot, in consequence of some publications in the "North Briton." Neither party was wounded. After firing, Mr. Wilkes walked up to his adversary and admitted he was the author of the papers. Lord Talbot, however, said he was satisfied, and they adjourned to the Red Lion Inn at Bagshot, where the parties had met, and drank a bottle of claret together, with much good humour and much laughter. His next affair in 1763, did not end so well. Mr. Samuel Martin abused the author of the "North Briton;"—Mr. Wilkes owned himself the writer of the articles in question; and a duel was the consequence. They fought in Hyde Park, and Mr. Wilkes was wounded. He had been elected Member for Aylesbury in 1761. Gibbon in his Journal, 1762, thus describes him—"Col. Wilkes of the Buckinghamshire Militia dined at our mess. I scarcely ever met with a better companion; he has inexhaustible spirits; infinite wit and humour, and a great deal of knowledge; but a thorough profligate in principle, as in

active and earnest malignity; he was also patient and cheerful in suffering; he courted martyrdom, and was prepared either to caress or betray. There were few things he feared, and nothing he was ashamed of. His invincible temper made him wish to provoke other men, and enabled him to take advantage of their resentment; and he returned superior at the close of a contest in which he had been, at the commencement, unjustifiable. He had led government at first into improprieties, and at last into enormities; for he had tempted it, upon slight provocation, to descend to an angry and degrading contest with a man who had presence of mind to elude, spirit to expose, and fortitude to sustain, its violence.

Wilkes's fate was singular, and the contest was extraordinary; after-ages and other nations may wonder at the blindness of a people who sustained so abandoned and so troublesome a personage. But they will be mistaken. Wilkes was considered in the abstract light of *an Englishman;* the people looked at the fact of the laws being invaded to oppress him; they were too wise to dwell on the private qualities of a man whose personal liberty was assailed; they were determined that the spleen of the court should not overwhelm a sub-

practice; his life stained with every vice, and his conversation full of blasphemy and indecency. These morals he glories in; for shame is a weakness he has long since surmounted. He told us himself, that in this time of public dissension, he was resolved to make his fortune."

ject; and possibly they felt some gratitude for a person whose fate it was to have done something, and to have suffered much, for his country.

The following is the sketch of the events of those times, which was addressed by Mr. Grattan to his friend Broome, and which may not prove uninteresting even at this remote period.

"During the wars of Lord Chatham, corruption was neglected, opposition would have been odious, and the kingdom was hurried away in a career of victory, and an exertion of unanimity. This was not the case when the third Prince of the House of Hanover sat on the throne. The advantages at his accession were singular. As a Prince of Hanover, he could command the Whigs; as an Englishman, he was beloved by the nation. There was not a rival to his throne, nor could there be a prejudice to his character. He stood in a situation where peace might have been made with acquisition, or war continued with victory; served by ministers and commanders, as popular as terrible, and supported by a prodigious influence, in an age luxurious and venal.

"The influence of the crown had greatly increased, and continued to increase, from the growing debt of the nation; it increased, likewise, by her victories. Like a horrible excrescence, it was equally fed by the vigour and by the infirmity of the kingdom, — those very conquests which

gave the crown influence, and enervated the people. Mr. Pitt, Lord Granby,* Admiral Hawke, the servants of the king, were objects of implicit confidence. An opposition to the crown, which was supported by such men, and at the head of victory, must have proved frivolous, wasting, and unpopular, and must have been eternally brow-beaten by the Prime Minister, who was possessed of the hearts of the people, and of talents equally able to conquer, and to embellish.

"This situation, so glorious, so easy, so powerful, was not, however, cultivated. The king had other objects than glory, ease, or popularity. The female hand which had conducted him from the cradle to the throne, swayed the sceptre. The court of Prince Frederick, in the retirement of its disgrace, had indulged in splenetic visions of government; it had contemplated with indignation the throne reduced to the hardship of choosing servants on account of their popularity (like Mr. Pitt,) or continuing them from their connections (like the Duke of Newcastle;) and victory and ease seemed far inferior to the solitary influence of the crown, however mismanaged. The Whig party, by which they were neglected, was to be dismissed; and the aristocracy, by which George II. had been supported, was to be de-

* They were in office from 1766 to 1769—Lord Chatham, Privy Seal —the Marquis of Granby, Commander-in-Chief—and Sir Edward Hawke, First Lord of the Admiralty.

stroyed—in order that, instead of influencing through the medium of the natural weight or popularity of its servants, the crown might pounce upon parliament immediately, with all the impression of corruption. The court had favourites and enemies, as well as systems; and therefore the Government of England was to be changed. The idea was, that the king, in the rotation of his servants, or the choice of his measures, was never to be opposed by conscience in his officers or control in his Parliament. With this principle, George III. acceded; and upon this principle it became necessary to make a peace. Tranquillity abroad was indispensable, in order to give leisure for projects at home; and war could not be continued, after the dismission of the men by whose abilities it had been conducted. Mr. Pitt suspected, discerned, felt this change in the climate of the court;—he regretted that his idea was left unaccomplished—came to the council full of honours *—opposed, and retired.

"The old supporters of George II. were sent away from the court, and as they departed felt some remorse at finding that the system of influence, which they had formed into the regularity of a fort, was now directed against themselves, by a

* In 1761, Mr. Pitt retired from the office of Secretary of State to the Home Department; and the Duke of Newcastle remained in, as First Lord of the Treasury, but in the ensuing year was succeeded by the Earl of Bute.

prince to whose house they had sacrificed their principles and exposed the constitution.

"The love of the people, which had sought the throne with impetuosity, now recoiled from it; and a set of men, of another country, and inveterate slavery, thronged about the king, and were favoured.

"We have seen the ground on which he stood at his accession. This is the ground he stood on a little after it:—instead of his victories, his English birth, his desire to give satisfaction, his amiable youth,—an injurious peace, a partiality to the Tory principles of his court, a blind simplicity, a dangerous insincerity;—these were the themes on which the people dwelt.

"It was at this period that a ministry was formed. Its birth was to have the stamp of Lord Chatham; its conduct the bias of Lord Bute.* The friends of the former were to be gradually dismissed, or insensibly to degenerate from his principles; he was to be disgusted into retirement; and it was hoped, in a refining cabinet, that this minister, like a two-edged sword, with one side would strike for the favorite who was to guide, and with the other side wound the reputation of him who had formed it. Lord Camden had the great seal, Lord Chatham the privy seals, and the Duke of Grafton, the pupil of the latter, stood foremost as first Lord of the Treasury.

* 1766.

"Thus stood ministry when its spirited enemy [Wilkes] returned. He had continued an outlaw in France; digesting schemes and corresponding with opposition. Never forgotten, he was now received with ardour by his countrymen. Under the protection of a general election he came to England,* and was returned for Middlesex by a numerous and sanguine majority. He afterwards appeared in Westminster Hall; obtained a reversal of his outlawry; and received sentence of fine and imprisonment. The zeal of the populace (which had attended him from place to place ever since his return), with difficulty submitted to the sentence which amerced him in a fine of five hundred pounds for his "North Briton," and the same sum for his blasphemous poem, with a year's imprisonment for each. On his way to his prison he was met by the populace, who went into his harness and drew him home in triumph. At night he stole into his confinement, where he beheld himself again encompassed by multitudes, sanguine, curious, and turbulent.

* Mr. Wilkes, though outlawed, had returned from abroad, and was constantly seen in public, even about the King's palace. He was at length arrested, was rescued by about twenty or thirty persons, almost in sight of the King's Bench, but was again taken. The question on the outlawry was then tried, and the court reversed it, declaring, however, that it was for an error so trivial that they were almost ashamed to mention it. In the first session Wilkes continued to sit without any notice being taken of him, and so likewise in the beginning of the subsequent session. It was Lord North who managed the entire of this disgraceful business.

"The administration beheld all this with a stupid astonishment. Not only resentment but order appeared to be forgotten. They had seen without emotion an outlaw followed from place to place by an applauding multitude, canvassing at large for his election, and besieging the king with his popularity. The multitude, turbulent no doubt, though probably inoffensive, who had surrounded the prison of the man who was the object of their solicitude, alarmed administration into a measure always odious, generally unconstitutional. The nation beheld, in times of peace, not of rebellion, the unseemly spectacle of a military force marching upon the populace. The people were dispersed, and Government became greatly detested.

"The unhappy circumstance of the death of some of the populace who happened to have been the most inoffensive spectators, and whose domestic circumstances made their unmerited fate very affecting, injured the reputation of humanity in the ministry, as the measure itself had injured their constitutional character. A letter too* which had been written by one of the secretaries of state to inspirit, not control, the natural violence of the

* Lord Weymouth had written a letter to the magistrates of Surrey respecting the riots, and advising them to make an early application of military force in aid of the civil power. This letter Mr. Wilkes got possession of, and published with severe comments, and when brought to the bar of the House of Commons called it "*a bloody scroll*," and claimed the thanks of the country for having exposed it.

military, made it seem as if bloodshed had not been the work of chance, but the idea of Government.

"A measure suggested by principles not perfectly constitutional, productive of events that were calamitous, if not inhuman, dwelt upon the minds of the people. They compared the lenity of the Government before with its exertions now; they thought that lenity was not mildness, nor those exertions spirit, but that both were co-operating arguments of their contempt of law, of their neglect in one instance, and violation in the other.

"Parliament was now sitting, and the attention of the nation was turned to its conduct. Its measures with respect to Mr. Wilkes,—whether in regard to the electors of Middlesex and the right of the subject, they would suffer him to sit, or in compliance with administration drive from the House of Commons this popular representative,—employed the conjectures of every one. To neglect him into oblivion—to let him sit for Middlesex—to avoid this man—was the scheme of the ministry; but if he should once more provoke the hand of power, they determined to unite against him the whole fabric of the constitution—to revive and compound all his transgression, and to come upon him with a hoarded resentment.

"Mr. Wilkes saw, on the other hand, the dan-

gers of inoffensiveness; he found succour in his persecution, he loved popularity, and he had strong resentments; and the letter which the secretary had written to the army gave ample opportunity to indulge these. He published a spirited animadversion, full of power and freedom. This was the provocation which called for administration. They rushed into action, and answered this challenge with zeal and blindness. The House of Commons was called upon, the House of Lords were included, and all the powers of the constitution invoked.

"Lord Chatham had retired; Lord Camden had no influence; and the Duke of Grafton, who was the creature of Lord Chatham, and Wilkes's old acquaintance, now gave himself implicitly to the vicissitudes of politics. Mr. Wilkes was expelled, and re-elected; still expelled, and still re-elected. A tool of the court, a gentleman* by birth, was set up against him, who, being re-

* Mr. Wilkes was elected on the 28th of March, 1768; expelled, 3rd February, 1769; re-elected, the 16th; declared incapable of sitting or being elected, the 17th; again elected, the 16th of March; his election declared void on the 17th; and on the 13th of April the sheriffs declared the poll—for Mr. Luttrell 296, for Mr. Wilkes 1143; on the 15th the House pronounced its decision—that Mr. Luttrell should have been elected; and on the 8th of May that he had been duly elected.

At a subsequent period, when the Whig party came into power, in May 1782, these proceedings were obliterated from the records of Parliament, and the resolution of disqualification was expunged from the journals "as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors in the kingdom."

jected by a vast majority of electors, was by the House of Commons determined to be duly elected.

"The defence of this last measure was difficult. There were men, however, who undertook it, and said that the House of Commons, having a power to disqualify as well as to expel, did always imply, and, in the instance of Mr. Wilkes did express disqualification, in the vote of expulsion —that their disqualification operated like any other disqualification—making the person ineligible, and of course annulling the suffrage of his electors, so as to leave the opposite votes without a balance.

"Men the most moderate did not reason in the same manner, and when they examined these proceedings, condemned every stage of them. They thought it was not the province of the House of Commons to punish for crimes which the known law punished elsewhere; they thought it was not consistent with the popular nature of the House of Commons to pay less regard to the sense of the electors repeatedly expressed, than to the wounded dignity of a secretary of state; they thought that expulsion might give the constituent an opportunity of amending, but should not overrule, the choice of the people;* they thought that the right of election was in the

* Mr. George Grenville made a celebrated speech opposing the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, which was however carried by 219 to 137, 3rd February, 1769.

people, and could not by any law, in any instance, be usurped by the House of Commons in contradiction to the sense of the people; that the principle which gave the representative a power of appointing a member of Parliament in contradiction to the people, made that representative the constituent of Parliament not of the people. Finally, they thought democracy had gone out of the constitution, and that every thing was avowed prostitution, absolute influence; or rather they thought that the constitution itself was dead, and that some method was indispensable to restore it to primeval efficacy.

"Petitions were now presented from almost every part, and by all the most authoritative parts of the kingdom,—London, Middlesex, Yorkshire. In moderate, but earnest expressions, they disclaimed the present Parliament as their representative;—(a point of which they alone could judge,) having, in every instance, opposed their sense and broken their contract—as an assembly which had usurped their elective quality—as a body, deviating from its purpose, and dangerous to the rights of the subject; and they besought his Majesty to exert his constitutional power in its dissolution. These petitions were thrown by with contempt, not answered; and the people were left to their anxieties about the notice the King should hereafter take of their complaint, when he met them assembled in Par-

liament. The time was approaching. Parliament had been prorogued beyond the usual period, and after Christmas it was assembled.

"Never did there stand a more formidable opposition to ministry than that which appeared at the opening of this Session. There was the Commander-in-Chief, whose popular manners, unbounded generosity, courage, and late services, endeared him to the army as well as to the people. He seemed born for popularity; his generosity was the most artless and good-natured quality imaginable; his courage was adamant; he was a strenuous Englishman, so high in rank and disinterestedness, that treasure could not bribe, nor death move, nor the King honour him. The leader of the city was Alderman Beckford,* the first commercial character in a kingdom whose life was commerce; a man of infinite wealth, of confirmed popularity, and an inveterate boldness, which was not to be deterred by danger or ridicule. There were also embattled on the side of opposition, the high reputation and animated candour of the head of the law, Lord Camden, one whose eloquence, abilities, and information, made him the finest ornament of opposition. There was also Mr. Grenville's searching experience: an old statesman, familiar with politics, leading the ex-

* Mr. Beckford was, in 1756, one of the members for the City of London, and was afterwards Alderman, Sheriff, and twice Lord Mayor. He died in June, 1770.

pectation of numbers, and possessed of an ardent, though narrow, attachment to the constitution. There was a number of respectable individuals whose conduct had procured authority and attention;—Mr. Townshend's spirit; Mr. Sawbridge's purity. There were beside, the Aristocratic parties:—the Marquess of Rockingham's power, composed of number and abilities, and deriving reputation from the amiable disposition of its leader; Lord Shelburne's eloquent and undaunted phalanx, shrewd, inveterate, and indefatigable. On the same side there was also Lord Chatham's authority supported by the expressed voice of England.

"Statesmen, warriors, and leaders, so beloved, so supported, when they came forth in such a cause, to oppose the Duke of Grafton's insufficiency, and Lord Mansfield's fears, it is strange that they should have proved insufficient. The reason is not to be found in the onset of their opposition, which was vigorous and judicious. The Lords in Opposition protested with boldness and decision, and claimed the support of the kingdom by pledging themselves to its redress. Nor is it to be found in the spirit of Administration: the head of the Ministry fled from his department, and Lord Mansfield refused to give his opinion. The dismissal of Lord Camden from the seals,* which

* 1769.

succeeded his opposition, and Lord Granby, from the head of the army, resembled timid resentment in men who themselves feared to serve in Administration, and proved not spirit, but the source of vigour to opposition, for it left the army without a commander, and the law without a chancellor; and thus it reduced his Majesty to the unprincely appearance of being forsaken by every man of credit and abilities, and to the degrading necessity of supplicating in person the acceptance of the Great Seal of England, by a gentleman, who, ashamed of his compliance, took refuge in suicide.*

"We must look for the inefficacy of this tremendous opposition in some other causes than the inefficacy of its leaders, or the abilities of its antagonist. The provocation had been great; but the injury was theory more than fact. Mr. Wilkes's disqualification, and the substitution of the instrument of the Ministry, was an affront to Middlesex, but no actual injury; as in so corrupt a House of Commons, the former could not serve, and the latter could only wish ill to the constituents.

"The arbitrary theory was the severity of the injury; and theory can never with numbers be a principle of continued action. There was another cause for the failing of the spirits of men; it was that the redress was no temptation. Many

* Mr. Charles Yorke, 1770.

thought the establishment of Mr. Wilkes in his seat, and the securing to the constituent the irrevocable right of election, might be a compliment to the county of Middlesex, but would leave the House of Commons, as before, to the servants of the crown.

"The City remonstrance, justified by the provocation the kingdom had received, but too violent for the genius of the times, was another cause which frightened the timid, and disgusted the moderate. The inefficacy of the exertions of opposition was also the source of despondency in the people, who always go back when they do not advance, and are only carried on by the successful impetuosity of a blind attack. A rapid mortality in the leaders of opposition,—Beckford, Lord Granby, Mr. Grenville,—which thinned, and the enlargement of Mr. Wilkes, which divided, the national party, was another cause of this deficiency in the spirit that stood forth against the mal-administration. But the great and fundamental cause was the times; the dissenting moderation and indolent maturity of England disappointed every effort. No scheme of real action, no pertinacious opposition, no reformation, could be adopted or enforced, in an age so luxurious, so venal, so unproductive. Never was there a time in which exalted rank was so frivolous, abandoned, and unprincipled. Public prostitution had followed the senator home, and vitiated all his do-

mestic economy,—the extravagance of which made his situation dependent and his disposition venal. Every day brought forth some horrid circumstance of grovelling viciousness in the male sex, and tremendous enormities in the other. The age rushed into an anarchy of pleasure. It was as if the moral sense was dead in England. There are, on record, instances of adulteries not concealed, but claimed by the woman, as a means of divorce, to make way for a continued abandoned connexion with her former notorious adulterer. There are still more horrid instances of marriages continued upon a league of mutual prostitution. There is another instance, more formidable than any of the foregoing; it is incredible, astounding, that such persons were hardly discountenanced. *

"The speculative beheld this period of the fate of England, and became melancholy, not enterprising; they saw in it a total incapacity to recover, or to maintain the rights of a free people. In 1741, they recollected the chaste, independent spirit of England, supported by all Scotland; and, opposed to the unattractive nature of prerogative, wept over its victory. Their fondest wishes did not go beyond an inactive expectation of some strange event, which might miraculously shock us back to original principles; or, if no such event

* The chronicles of the times may be referred to for these cases; but they have been superseded by modern ones—that of the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke in 1809, and of George IV. and Queen Caroline in 1821, made dreadful ravages in the morality of the age.

should take place, they submitted to the fate of all human societies, and were prepared for the Euthanasia of the British constitution.

"Assisted by experience, it is easy to prescribe; and the measures which have proved ineffectual, may, without much ingenuity, be condemned. The historian, however, conforms to his character, when he points to the former period, and suggests the possible safety of another. Had the people of England, when their humble addresses were despised, when their authority was the mockery, not the respect of the king; had they, instead of repeating their insulted solicitations, instead of assuming a new style, which alarmed moderation, and challenged obstinacy, appealed to themselves, and resolved, by the most solemn engagements, in the most universal compact, on a Triennial Law,—on a Place Bill,—on an equal representation—to be sworn to at the next election, as the terms of representation; there would have been a reformation acquired, and not a solitary question decided.

"There had been prescience, not tumult, in their proceedings; the zeal of opposition had lived in its expectation for a reformation; and a solitary question had not been the only object. The respect for the person of the sovereign, had been preserved in the eye of timid moderation; and the scheme of the cabinet would, or possibly might, have destroyed its own influence, by driving the people into a measure, which, in its proposal,

would have been intimidation, and, in its event, a new constitution."

The following speech of Lord Chatham, on the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes from the House of Commons, was taken at the time by Mr. Grattan. There are several brilliant passages in it, that are not to be found in the report published in the Parliamentary history. It was spoken on the 9th of January, 1770.

"The same day on which the sovereign went to Parliament, Lord Chatham also attended. He had been long in retirement, feared and neglected. Upon this important conjuncture, he came to the House of Lords, and delivered himself on the great point in question. He mentioned his infirmities, which disabled him from giving a constant attendance to public affairs; but the measures at present were too insupportable to be neglected; and while he could crawl to Parliament, he should exert his feeble, broken, exhausted efforts, in defence of England. The silence of His Majesty was unaccountable and unbecoming. 'What! my lords! when complaints are so universal, and, I fear, so well founded—when petitions are regularly presented to the throne upon a matter of the highest constitutional nature, and every man in England is alive with attention—shall the father of his people pass them over without notice?—as if the people were nothing in his constitution—and the petition of rights, which gave a power to address, did not also give an authority! This is adding insult to injury—a disregard more provoking than refusal, and, if possible, more unconstitutional than the vote of the House of Commons. If the nation is injured, where now shall it appeal? The mild way of proceeding by address,

a reconcilement and a consolation formerly, is now become the most hopeless thing imaginable. Was it that the king, like a stranger in England, knew nothing of its feeling?—or that, encompassed with the complaints of his people, they neither reached his heart, nor his attention? Strange, unconstitutional insensibility!—productive of despair, not loyalty!—and when the people are obliged to despair, my lords, the consequences must be terrible. In this conjuncture, so critical and so alarming—so affectedly overlooked—something must, my lords—I hope something may happen, astonishing—stupendous—like a peal of thunder—to open the eyes of the king, if they are closed, and let in upon his mind the distracted and degraded state of his empire.' [He perceived his expressions gave offence to the court; its members understood that he had spoken absolutely, not conditionally.] 'I am misunderstood. I did not say the eyes of the king were closed. *I say so now.* I say I hope something may happen astonishing, to open the eyes of the king, which are now closed, and let in on his mind the state of his empire, to which he is at present a stranger. I love the king—love him as a gentleman, as well as a sovereign—but his name does not terrify me. I loved the late king also. He had many faults—he had lively virtues. It was possible to arrive at his heart, and to know whether he was your friend or your enemy. The idea of government in his time was noble. Europe was the object of its solicitude—the House of Bourbon of its resentment. But in the modern system of politics, Mr. Wilkes has engaged all the energy of government—its triumphs have been to defeat him! *Scilicet egregiam laudem, &c. tu puerque tuus.*

"This secret influence has lowered the Government of England, distracted her subjects, and torn down her trophies in every quarter of the globe. Can I live, my lords,

and be insensible of this? The late war was conducted with glory, and should have been concluded with honour. I stood against the family compact, with Germany tied to my neck—which made some men call the coalition my German War. The dispositions, the councils of the enemy, did not escape my observation. They are inveterate and treacherous, and this very moment are striking a blow against Great Britain. And do we sit here in a state of compliance—waging spleen against a private gentleman —without a thought of the exigencies of Great Britain?

"The present question,—of whose importance every one but the sovereign, seems sensible,—has been miserably maintained on the part of administration. The right of election—the invasion of that right—are so obvious —so self-evident—I wonder how ingenuity can be so vicious as to confound them. The right of election in the collective body of the people, is said to be a part of the Constitution:—it is not so—it is *the* Constitution. The vote of the House of Commons, rejecting the choice, and electing the refusal of the constituent, is, in the particular instance, usurping from the people of Middlesex the right of election; in principle, it is usurping that right from the people of England. It is not that the young gentleman who sits for Middlesex has had no more than 300 voices—it is that he sits in opposition to 1,100—and in violation of the sense of that county of which he is called the representative. My lords, it is nonsense to call the House of Commons an elective body, if they may sit, not only without being chosen, but after having been expressly postponed by the constituents. Talk not of precedents. I have listened to a miserable series—I disregard them all —they are so many *patteraras* fired against the adamantine wall of the Constitution. I shall not follow the lawyer into the dusty scraps of antiquity, which are so curiously

produced to instance the late conduct of the Commons. I boast a sovereign contempt for them. I have, 'tis true, read the Petition of Rights. They all inform me that the right of election, is exclusively in the people. Their characters, in my mind, are immortal—the cobweb of the lawyer shall not defile them. To search in all the flaws of antiquity with a curious mischief—to run into every offensive crevice, and to wind, and meander, and spin some silky line, entangling our plain sense, and defacing those clearly-delineated ideas, which should be fixed in every man's mind, and should direct his conduct—without which we can neither obey, nor oppose with propriety—'tis insupportable,—the English will never suffer it. I spoke of precedents. My lords, I affirm there are no precedents—Sir Robert Walpole was twice expelled; and Mr. Taylor, his antagonist, was declared not duly elected. Mr. Wollaston was also expelled and re-elected. He took his seat accordingly. Where is the common law that gives the House this power? Where is the statute law?—they have neither.—Where the precedent?—there is no such thing. And how have they presumed,—without constitution, without common law, or statute law—or even the unworthy pretence of precedent,—to rob England, or even the devoted people of Middlesex, of their right of election? I did not dwell upon precedent because I should submit to such authority; but in justice to the worst of our ancestors, who, in their fears, their distractions, their venality, were not so flagrantly unconstitutional as the present assembly—this House of Commons—never opposing the worst measure—ever supporting, ever applauding the basest Administration—never enquiring into an article of expence—dealing out the public money, as if it were French treasure! They have invaded our Constitution; and like the vision's "baseless fabric," will not leave a wreck of it surviving. Let them be dissolved!—let the principle of the Middlesex

election be expunged, absolutely—entirely—for ever!—let there be a new election! The petitions of the people must be complied with. Ennoble the sentiments of Government—their feelings must be changed—their resentments forgotten. I love peace; but if our honour is to be the expence of our tranquillity, let discord reign. It is a false moderation, that does not wish to fortify the spirit of opposition. Had there been more Earls of Bedford, more Earls of Manchester, in the famous contest of—41 the motley race had been suppressed, and the Constitution victorious. Wisdom is decisive—a seasonable decision quells a contest—like the discharge of cannon in a tempest, it commands tranquillity."

"*Nota.*—The House of Lords heard this, but voted with the Ministry. They refused to take any part in the proceedings of the Commons, and resolved that one House could not regularly interfere with the votes or resolutions of the other House, where it is competent."

The following remarks by Mr. Grattan upon this great and distinguished man, though written long subsequent to this period, will not be inappropriately introduced here, and will give some further idea of this celebrated individual.

* * * * * * *

"He was a man of great genius—great flight of mind. His imagination was astonishing. I heard him several times when I was at the temple—on the American war, on the King's speech in 1770, and on the privilege of Parliament. He was very

great, and very odd. He spoke in a style of conversation, not however what I expected; it was not a speech, for he never came with a prepared harangue; his style was not regular oratory, like Cicero, or Demosthenes, but it was very fine, and very elevated, and above the ordinary subjects of discourse. He took a nobler line, and disdaining the low affairs of debate, his conversations were about kings and queens and empires. He appeared more like a grave character advising, than mixing in the debate. It was something superior to that—*it was teaching the Lords and lecturing the King*. He appeared the next greatest thing to the King, *though infinitely superior*. Lord Mansfield perhaps would have argued the question better; Charles Townshend would have made a better speech; but there was [in Lord Chatham] grandeur, and a manner which neither had, and which was peculiar to him. What Cicero says in his '*Claris Oratoribus*,' exactly applies,—'*Formæ dignitas, corporis motus plenus et artis et venustatis, vocis et suavitas et magnitudo*.' His gesture was always graceful. He was an incomparable actor. Had it not have been so, he would have appeared ridiculous. His address to the Tapestry, and to Lord Effingham's memory, required a fine actor and *he was that actor*. His tones were remarkably pleasing. I recollect his pronouncing one word, "*effete*," in a soft charming accent. His son could not have pronounced it better. He

was often called to order. On one occasion he had said, 'I hope some dreadful calamity will befall the country that will open the eyes of the King,' and then he introduced the allusion to the figure drawing the curtains of Priam, and gave the quotation. He was called to order. He stopped, and said, 'what I have spoken I have spoken conditionally, *but now I retract the condition.* I speak it absolutely, and I do hope that some signal calamity will befall the country;' and he repeated what he had said. He then fired, and oratorised, and grew extremely eloquent. Ministers, seeing what a difficult character they had to deal with, thought it best to let him proceed.

"On one occasion, addressing Lord Mansfield, he said, 'Who are the evil advisers of his Majesty? I would say to them, Is it you?—Is it you?—Is it you?'—(pointing to the ministers until he came near Lord Mansfield). There were several lords round him, and Lord Chatham said, 'My Lords, please to take your seats.' When they had sat down, he pointed to Lord Mansfield, and said, 'Is it you? *Methinks Felix trembles!*'

"It required a great actor to do this; done by any one else, it would have been miserable.

"In his speech on the Stamp Act, being abandoned by his friends, he said, 'My Lords, I rise like our primeval ancestor—*naked, but not ashamed.*' On another occasion—'The first shot that is fired in America separates the two countries.'

"When it was proposed to call in the aid of the wild Indians, Lord Chatham made an appeal to the bishops, and the judges, and to the House. The appeal was not Parliamentary, and it required a good actor, and the effect was great. 'You talk of driving the Americans: I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch.'

"On another occasion he said, 'It is not for us to inquire whence the wind bloweth, but where it tendeth. If its gales are for the public advantage, although they come from the quarter of the noble lord, my bark is ready.'

"When he came to the argumentative part of his speech, he lowered his tone so as to be scarcely audible, and he did not lay so much stress on those parts, as on the great bursts of genius and the sublime passages. He had studied action, and his gesture was graceful, and had a most powerful effect. His speeches required good acting and he gave it them. The impression was great. His manner was dramatic. In this it was said that he was too much the mountebank; but if so, it was a great mountebank. Perhaps he was not so good a debater as his son, but he was a much better orator, a better scholar, and a far greater mind. *Great subjects, great empires, great characters, effulgent ideas, and classical illustrations,* formed the materials of his speeches.

"If he had come into power in 1777, I think he could have kept America. His idea was that

it could be preserved. To him it was possible—to Lord North it certainly was not."

* * * * * * *

The following letter will show how easily a king and a commoner can differ about the same person. Lord North had proposed to put Mr. William Pitt's name in Lord Chatham's pension, and wrote to the King for that purpose—to that King whom Lord Bute (who was his governor) calls in his letter to Lord Chatham "*the amiable young prince.*" The reply of this amiable personage was as follows. This cruel and cold-hearted production was deeply expiated by the loss of that portion of the empire which this "*trumpeter of sedition,*" would have preserved for his royal master.

"The making Lord Chatham's family suffer for the conduct of their father, is not in the least agreeable to my sentiments. But I should choose to know him to be totally unable to appear on the public stage, before I agree to any offer of that kind, lest it should be wrongly construed a fear of him; and indeed *his political conduct last winter was so abandoned,* that he must, in the eyes of the dispassionate, have totally undone all the merit of his former conduct.

"As to any gratitude to be expected from him or his family, *the whole tenor of their lives shows them to be devoid of that most honourable sentiment.*

BUT WHEN DECREPITUDE OR DEATH PUTS AN END TO HIM AS A TRUMPETER OF SEDITION, I shall make no difficulty in placing the second son's name instead of the father's, and making up the pension three thousand pounds."

Such was the letter of George III.—it is not to be found in Lord Chatham's works; but its authenticity is undoubted. It's mingled shallowness and malignity are more characteristic of the writer, than any thing else extant. The greatest orator and patriot of his age, "a trumpeter of sedition!" No gratitude to be expected from the family of that man, whose son (only second to himself in talent) sacrificed his life, and more than his life, his political honour, to the personal and petty prejudices of his father's royal calumniator! Such is the discrimination—such the gratitude of kings!

CHAPTER XI.

Correspondence resumed.—Juvenile Essay on Patriotism, by Mr. Grattan.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome.—The same to the same.—Mr. Grattan visits France.—Resides at Paris.—Acquaintance with a French nobleman.—Letter to him from Mr. Grattan, in French.—Mr. Broome to Mr. Grattan.—Mr. Grattan called to the Irish bar, 1772.—Loses his first cause, and returns half the fee.—His associates at this period.—Mr. Gore, Lord Annaly, Mr. Hussey Burgh, Mr. Denis Daly, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Doyle, Mr. Bushe, Mr. Langrishe, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Day.—Political meetings among these friends.—They form a political club.—Lord Charlemont.—His literary tastes.—Mr. Daly.—Judge Kelly.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Day.—The same to the same.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome.—The same to the same.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Day.—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome.

We now return to the correspondence. The essay alluded to in the following letter, was a dissertation on Patriotism, striving to show its inefficacy and inutility. The idea, perhaps, may have been suggested by the unsuccessful attempts of Swift and Molyneux, in the cause of Ireland, and by the unfavourable aspect of politics in England, which did not hold forth any prospects of amelioration to the affairs of either country. The apprehension Mr. Grattan here displayed, lest he should be

supposed to have reasoned seriously against Patriotism, is somewhat amusing, and he describes it as the "*spirit of profaneness,* written against the sense of the heart." His subsequent life was unquestionably an ample refutation of his juvenile essay, which was an ingenious, clever, and argumentative composition. He wrote to Broome, begging him not to show it, lest it should "make the worse appear the better reason."

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Temple, April 1, 1771.

DEAR BROOME,

An apology for a conduct that does not admit of apology would be adding to the guilt of delay. The papers you mention I have not in London. In a few days I shall send them from the country. They are scarcely worth your reading, grounded upon false principles, and written against the sense of the heart. They were begun in a spirit of profaneness, and continued in the vanity of rhetoric.

Patriotism is not the extravagant quality of the present age; it was unnecessary to guard against, and ungenerous to revile, a false virtue. Reflections on Patriotism may be an apology, but need not be an admonition for these days. Reading the essay, you may say with Milton, you are "fallen on evil days and evil tongues." Public prostitution, like the personal deformity of exalted rank, becomes fashion, is justified and emulated.

The state of the British Empire is not an exception to this observation. The crown, purchasing the controul of Parliament, and despising the awe of the people, is abso-

lute; it breaks through the obstacles of rotten policy, and galls the subject like a yoke; the forms of the constitution, like the corruption of the best things, are our bitterest enemy; they sanctify oppression, and bear off the brunt of popular indignation. The army too, that might not advance against the bulwarks of the constitution, are not disposed to refine its theory. The consecrated building they might respect, but would not spare visionary freedom in the spirit of the people; even a small military force may overwhelm (their appearance will always damp) a people who have no discipline, and with whom liberty, the deity of their ancestors, is become a question in politics. The spirit of London is a virtue, alarming to the indolent maturity of these times; luxury cries, "Let us have peace; slavery is offensive, but repose is better than freedom." An unhappy situation, where the authority of the senate, and the strength of the army, are opposed to an undisciplined, a divided, and a luxurious nation.

I will mention facts. The House of Commons have of late agreed with the Court to exclude the constituents from the representatives.* The smallness of the House of Commons was the excuse; but as for several centuries, their ancestors, sitting in the same house, had not made the same discovery, the size of the room seemed not to be the reason, but rather a consciousness of treachery, and a modest desire to screen from public censure public villainy. The indefatigable liberty of the press disappointed this scheme of secrecy, and industriously revealed the foul mystery of Parliament; it became necessary to confine the liberty of the press, or the exclusion of the people from their trustees was of no service. Privilege of

* In December, 1770, the Lords excluded all strangers, and the House of Commons followed their bad example.

parliament (a monster whose nature is unknown, whose power is undefined, who alarms, and overbears, and perplexes mankind) was let out therefore, and resisted by the City. The motive of the City was constitutional, for it opposed corruption in the person of privilege. The legality of the City seems undeniable, for it conformed to the charter of London, as original as Magna Charta, sworn to by its magistrates, and forbidding such commitments as the House of Commons attempted, for not breaking the charter of the City, for not violating the obligation of an oath, or rather, for being disabled to assist the House of Commons in wounding the liberty of the press.* The Lord Mayor, and one of the representatives, were sent to the Tower, in contempt of cause, station, and infirmities. The hardship, the injustice, the unconstitutionality of this step, are the more alarming, because while they show there is nothing which Parliament will not do, they prove that there are few things which Parliament is afraid to do; that there is as little awe as controul in the policy of these times, the disgraceful history of the present parliament

* On the 14th of March, John Miller was taken into custody, by order of the House of Commons, for a breach of privilege, in printing their proceedings. The party was brought before the Lord Mayor (Brass Crosby) and Aldermen Oliver and Wilkes. The messenger of the House of Commons was bound over to take his trial for the arrest, and Miller was discharged out of custody. This was voted by the House to be a gross breach of its privileges; the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver were ordered to attend at the bar; and, after many long and warm debates, they were sent to the Tower. Mr. Wilkes, who was one of the justices, was also ordered to attend at the bar, but he wrote a letter to the House, claiming his privilege as a member. This letter was not allowed to be read. Wilkes persisted in disregarding the orders of the House, who, to get rid of the difficulty, adopted a wretched expedient; they directed him to attend on the 8th of April, and then adjourned to the 9th, thus passing over the day for which he was summoned.

will display; one man imposed against the sense of the constituent, and two men imprisoned for acting according to it, for revering their oath, and venerating their charter.

I should mention two other proceedings in the House of Commons, which the historian will take notice of, though the king does not: a bond, in which the printer stood engaged to prosecute his arrester, in contempt of the charter of the City, was, by a vote of the House of Commons, erased, and all legal proceedings prohibited. By this act, the House, one estate, assume an absolute discretion over civil contracts, and legal proceedings; in the other act, they have called on proclamation to enforce privilege; proclamation, which is expressly disabled to supersede the law, is now invited by the Commons to dispense with the Magna Charta of the City; it is not called upon to enforce the common law, to punish the breach of the statute law; it is taken from its old restrictions, and placed in an indefinite latitude, by being made commensurate with the indefinite privileges of Parliament; one part of the legislature assumes a dispensing power, and communicates that power to the crown. In vain does eloquence advance fidelity, character, pride, law, and constitution; to dissuade the venal senate, in vain would an angel address himself to corruption; he would resemble a man parleying with a deluge that was carrying him away. The outrageous insensibility of the torrent, does not hear him. "You are a prostitute set of men. Your present proceeding, of your many infamous measures is the most infamous"—were the expressions of Colonel Barré.* The

* Isaac Barré was born of humble parents, in Dublin, in 1726. He entered the army early, and rose to the rank of colonel; in 1761, was brought into Parliament by Lord Shelburne. He opposed Government, and lost in consequence the situations he held as Adjutant-General and

Senate heard him and was confounded. "You punish the mayor and aldermen to maintain your dignity," said others; "we declare, that on the first opportunity we shall imitate their conduct, notwithstanding that dignity; turn your eyes from the present objects of your persecution; turn to the cause of all our grievances; turn to her Royal Highness, the Princess Dowager of Wales."*

A natural consequence—the men who sell and stretch their privileges must forget their authority; a people taxed in order to be prostituted, the spirit without an effort, the constitution deprived of all its operations, England is like the picture you have seen of autumn, a sultry figure disabled by surfeit.

Foresight desponds in its conjecture about the event of affairs. The odious prerogative of 1641, without a standing army, opposed to Parliament and the frugality of England, was with difficulty defeated by the interposition of Scotland; but if corruption should go to war, with its thousand allurements, authorised by Parliament, strengthened by an army, without much to fear from Scotland, and opposed to the luxury of England, what have we to hope? rather what have we not to fear?

You insist on a dedication.† You have it—a corrective

Governor of Stirling Castle, and was also dismissed from the service. He was, however, compensated by the Administration of the Marquess of Rockingham, with a pension of 2300*l.* a-year. He was then appointed to the Clerkship of the Pells, having relinquished the pension. He lived to the age of 76, and died in 1802.

* Several of the members of the Opposition, disgusted with the proceedings of Government, and indignant at the abject submission of their followers, rose and left the House. Colonel Barré denounced the conduct of Lord North in unsparing terms:—"That the conscience of the ministers was seared with guilt, and their turpitude unexampled."

† This was his dedication to "Barataria," prefixed to the letters against Lord Townshend.

is the only dedication for such an essay as I will send; our sentiments are the same on public as well as other matters —very different from those of the times; they are better; they are the sentiments of other days. When we meet this summer, we shall communicate more freely. I shall have a house near the sea, where you must come and live with me.

Yours most ardently,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Milbrooke, near Southampton,
August 7, 1771.

MY DEAR BROOME,

I HAVE no apology for delay; it was not forgetfulness, it was not disloyalty to friendship.

I am now becoming a lawyer, fond of cases, frivolous, and illiberal; instead of Pope and Milton's numbers, I repeat in solitude Coke's distinctions, the nature of fee-tail, and the various constructions of perplexing statutes.

This duty has been taken up too late; not time enough to make me a lawyer, but sufficiently early to make me a dunce. I am now in the country, on the sea, and not far from a beautiful neighbourhood. I lodge in the house of an old seaman, whose means are comfortable, and whose wife, therefore, has all the arrogance of a gentlewoman, and all the coarse vulgarity of a dame. Her conversation, her temper, and her character are curious, as they are troublesome; her rising is denoted by noise and violence, maids and husband, children and grandchildren, she abuses, reproaches, tramples on; while she indulges in long anecdotes of her importance, and her discretion, with all the

volubility of a rhetorician and all the composure of an historian; she reads law, studies physic, and hunts after scandal, and explains the gospel, with the most uncommon industry; a deep divine, a knotty lawyer, a fortunate doctress, and an infinite narratress, her life is a frenzy of law, medicine, and religion.

The death of the poet of this age, and the rival of the first muse in any other, Gray, you lament as much as I do. His works lie on the table, I weep over and revere them. We naturally wonder at the idle insensibility of Providence that destroys a genius who has done her so much honour. It is a childish and a wicked reflection that cannot be immediately restrained.

Your life, like mine, is devoted to professions which we both detest; the vulgar honours of the law are as terrible to me as the restless uniformity of the military is to you. Our different studies will never divide us, our antipathy to these studies will be a bond of union.

I shall see you next November, or Christmas, to live and die with you. It is painful to renounce England, and my departure is to me the loss of youth. I submit to it on the same principle, and am resigned.

Yours most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

In September 1771, Mr. Grattan went to France, in company with his friend Mr. afterwards Sir John Tydd. He remained some time in Paris, but was attracted by the rural scenery of the country, and visited Vernon and the banks of the Loire. He there formed an acquaintance with one of the old French nobility of the *vieux régime*,

from whom he experienced those marks of attention and that courtesy for which the French are so remarkable. The following letter shows that the acquaintance was not forgotten. Though in French, the idiom of the letter is quite English, and the style peculiarly his own. It does not indicate any great facility in the French tongue at this period. Mr. Grattan laid aside the cultivation of the language for a considerable time, but in the latter part of his life he amused himself translating into French Miss Edgeworth's Tales and other light works. He admired Racine and Corneille, and used to read them with much pleasure.

MR. GRATTAN TO THE CHEVALIER D—.

Dublin.

MONSIEUR,

ENFIN j'ai l'honneur de vous addresser. J'ai voyagé de Vernon à Paris—de Paris à Londres—de Londres en Irlande;—beaucoup de travail, beaucoup d'ennui. Je trouve Paris poli, agréable, gracieux;—Londres plus magnifique, plus bizarre, plus amusant. Mais mon etoile me poursuit, me déchire, de Londres, et voilà, je suis en Irlande. Je dis-cher Londres quand vous reverrai-je? Du plaisir c'en est fait quand de vous j'ai parti. La jeunesse est passé, et une vieillesse premature me rencontre en Irlande.

Monsieur, j'etois très fâché que vous n'êtes pas avancée; mais vous ne devez pas être surpris; le merite n'est pas le sujet de la recompense; c'est beau d'avoir travaillé, etudié,

d'être savant, d'être eclairé. La Fortune est aveugle. J'espère cependent que votre santé est rétabli—je suis ravi que La Mort est aveugle aussi bien que La Fortune.

J'ai peur que vous ne comprendrai pas cette epître, il y a beaucoup de temps que j'ai parlé Francois, et après que j'ai quitté Vernon, j'ai parlé Anglois la plupart. Mais Monsieur, je me resouviendrai de vous après même avoir oublié votre langue.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. BROOME TO MR. GRATTAN.

Belturbet,
October 21, 1771.

MY BEST FRIEND,

YOUR letter came to me this day, after long expectation. On many accounts I am glad you went to France; you may not have another opportunity to visit a kingdom, which theory at a distance tells us is monarchical, but whose reality will satisfy you, like most modern states, that it exists in abuse, and is an absolute despotism. I am unacquainted with what part of the world you are in, though my mind retains an idea of the country. More to the south is less like England, and more like France. The grape at this season informs a stranger of the sun's bounty, and he feels less the rigour of the approaching winter. You are conscious what every son of freedom is who has long resided in England,—that he can meet no government so well adapted to the dignity of human nature, but indeed in every other, its violation. Even among the Swiss,

you will discover less political and less civil freedom. The forms of Government are so foreign in fact to their institutions, that until you visit the territory you cannot judge of the constitution. You find the French abounding in their only abundance, empty form. They have all the attention of slaves, and all the condescension of dignity.

I own, except in particular parts, I never discovered such rural beauty on the face of the country as you do, though passages have been delightful. The rivers often abound in excellent scenes, but not the Seine. The Loire, the Soane, are the boast of such Frenchmen as feel the beauties of nature; but those are few. They are agreeable people to reside among. They are assiduous, proud, mean followers of external fashion; and though they are not deliberately treacherous, they are perfectly insincere. Profusive and extravagant, credulous in appearance, doubtful in their heart, their conversation is a jargon between sense and nonsense, whilst whim constitutes the direct tendency of all their pleasures. At the distance I am from any thing which can excite the slightest interesting feeling for this wretched country, you can expect but a very imperfect account. Lord Townshend has opened his session, and has convinced Ireland that force and fraud in conjunction, will accomplish in a short time what able statesmen, with only indirect intention, could not complete in many years. So total an overthrow has freedom received, that its voice is heard only in the accents of despair. Flood was incomparable on the address of thanks, and has gained an accession even to his former reputation.

In your letter from Vernon, I do not find an acknowledgment of one I wrote you from Ballyshannon. Probably before now, it has overtaken you.

I hope you have kept the remonstrances of the Parlia-

ment of France. We may yet find pleasure in reading them together.

Write to me whenever this meets you.

Your ever affectionate

W. BROOME.

In Hilary Term, 1772, Mr. Grattan was called to the Irish bar. Though his taste did not incline him to follow the legal profession, yet he was compelled to do so; and as he says in one of his letters, "he began seriously to apply himself to the study of the law;" he went through the ordinary drudgery of analysing the musty reporters, and making extracts and abstracts from law-writers, and collecting the decisions of the judges as reported in various cases. He also went the circuit, and was specially retained in the case of Dutton and Napper, in the county of Meath, where it was sought to establish the illegitimacy of Mr. Napper. The will, however, was declared to be good, and Mr. Grattan did not succeed in the case; and such was his feeling on the occasion, that he returned to his client half the amount of the fee—fifty guineas. This conscientious, though whimsical precedent, is one not likely to be followed by the profession.

The individuals with whom Mr. Grattan chiefly associated at this time, were Mr. Gore, Lord Annaly (Chief Justice), Mr. Hussey Burgh, Mr. Denis Daly, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Doyle, Mr.

Bushe, Mr. Langrishe, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Day. The last-named gentleman was his most intimate and attached friend, with whom, to the last moment, the closest and most friendly intercourse and sincerest affection subsisted.

But politics was his chief attraction even at this period, and many of the above-named individuals used to meet at each other's houses and discuss together every question which was brought forward in Parliament; a plan that was of infinite service to them, and of great utility to the popular cause. They also formed a club, which was called the "Society of Granby Row," where Lord Charlemont and the party assembled, not merely for convivial, but for political purposes.

It was Lord Charlemont who gave the tone to society at this time; and the taste for literature and polite arts which he introduced, quickly extended among a people of wit, humour, gallantry, and spirit. His house was the great centre of attraction. Others too contributed to the charms of these meetings, and I have heard Mr. Grattan say that some of the pleasantest days he ever passed were among these persons. "At Mr. Daly's," he said, "we dined among his books, as well as at his table—they were on it, they were lying around it—they were always in his mind,—which was as well stored with literature as the shelves of his library."

Another of Mr. Grattan's intimate acquaintance

at this time was Mr. Kelly, afterwards judge; a man who possessed what very few judges in Ireland (that I have ever seen) possessed, namely, a love for his country and his countrymen. He was an early acquaintance, and to his death an ardent admirer, of Mr. Grattan. On one occasion, when he was in Parliament, he was asked by Government to oppose some question that was unfavourable to the liberties of the people; but he refused to do so; and though he could not avoid supporting the Government, nothing could induce him even to move the previous question. He always had an eye to the people and their liberties. Even in the disturbed times of 1798, he used to ride circuit without any apprehension of danger. On one occasion, as he was hunting in a part of the county of Kildare, he was stopped by some of the country people, who, on discovering his name, said, "Let the judge proceed, it is only ould Kelly." Of how few judges can this be said! How few have deserved the love of their countrymen!

On Mr. Grattan's retiring from the Temple, to be called to the bar, he wrote to his friend Day as follows:—

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

January 9, 1772.

DEAR DAY,

I am bound at Holyhead. The winds are obstinate, and may keep me here some days. The journey to Chester

was solitary; that through Wales in company with one gentleman. Tell Tydd that, for two guineas, every other day, he may have a place in an excellent post-coach, that will bring him to the Head in two days. The season did not prevent Wales from enchanting me. The storm contributed to its beauty, and made boldness more bold. I am fatigued with idleness, and wish for the happy moment when the winds will enable me to return to the land of saints. Remember me to Lovett, Tydd, and Hackett. I will do any business for any of you in Dublin, if any of you will trust my indolence. I will write to you when I go to Dublin.

Yours affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

January 13, 1772.

MY DEAR DAY,

The recess of Parliament, and the moping genius of Dublin, would have made a correspondence hitherto insipid to you. My letter must be confined to myself and my feelings. At present I am not reconciled to either. A violent change of situation creates disgust and despondency. When the tranquil satisfaction of seeing, is at an end, the mind naturally looks out for objects—but what objects? —embarrassed accounts; tenants in arrear; agents, whose memory one reveres, but whose calculations it is difficult to understand, and ungrateful to dispute. You know so well the ardent inefficacy of my character, as to judge how much I feel, and how little I can discharge this teazing business. I look to the world for gratification; but here I can find no world—the Houses full of bucks, but unencumbered with actors. Sheridan sits once more on his vulgar

throne; and Miss Ashmore's harmony and beauty enchant all the ears, and fire all the hearts, of this ancient country —in short, no plays—no opera—no beauty!

The spirit of party becomes tiresome; for the subjects are worn out—the new excise—the board of accounts—Lord Townshend's caprice, and the law of Poynings. I shall, however, at the meeting of Parliament, give you a full account; and if Lord Shannon does not desert, (which is suspected,) the Opposition will probably be victorious. Answer this letter as soon as is convenient to you, and give me an account of *your* suit, and of *my* books. Remember me to Tydd, and all our friends, Hackett and Lovett—that loiterer who stays in England without any business—Maryborough, I mean. Desire him to come to me as soon as he arrives, and tell him I live in Granby Row.

Yours most sincerely,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Dublin, January, 1772.

MY DEAR BROOME,

I received your letter in England; and since the reception, have not been settled till now. I have arrived to a time when it is necessary to decide, and I am incapable of decision; what I shall do, where I shall go, are questions I can no otherwise answer, than by saying I shall live much with you; I am glad you got the adjutancy, and wish I had been more serviceable. The fifty pounds, if I have an overplus after paying Latouche, I can get without difficulty; if not, I will try my credit.

I am as yet at a loss whether to take a house, or keep a lodging by the year; or without such an incumbrance,

retire in the summer to my seat in the country. You know the effect of deliberation—after being tormented, I do the very thing I condemn. I shall not tell you what effect Dublin had upon my mind, whether it appeared more magnificent or more enlivened than London—with what coyness I behold all its allurements, and how I feel a contagious laziness growing upon me.

Parliament is not sitting. Flood's fame is not silent, though he is not speaking. His reputation for wisdom is equal to his reputation for eloquence. I always thought his taste not superior, if it is equal to his deep understanding. He does honour, and I hope he will do service, to his country. Bushe, though a courtier, has principle; a placeman,* he has opposed Government. Hussey certainly has fine talents; when I heard him, they were juvenile—but, even then, he promised to his party an ornament and an advocate.

You see the Opposition has acted with spirit; we have gained in point of constitution, though we have lost our money in the contest. If it were possible to fix in the minds of our countrymen some precise principles of constitution, Government would be more reluctant to invade us; certainly the alteration of a Money Bill, at a time so critical, was a rash and audacious measure.

The Ministry have as little regard for Lord Townshend, as for his Majesty's kingdoms. I have not as yet seen your father, because I am afraid of meeting your mother. Come to Dublin if you can, that I may at once enter into conversations, interesting and unreserved—where one feels as well as speaks, and the mind expands into mutual confidence. It is seldom that men at our time of life have a sanguine love for each other; they are sociable, not

* He had accepted the office of Commissioner of Revenue.

friendly; we are not sociable, therefore friendly: a coyness to the world is a duty we owe each other. The host who entertains all mankind, is not loved; his table is a mob, and we shun his hospitality. Thus Boyd lost his credit in our system, before he entered into the world; but you and I were steady misanthropes.

Yours most affectionately,
HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Granby Row, February 24, 1772.

The business of Parliament, the idleness of the courts, and the dull star of Dublin, have employed and disabled me. I wish for retirement, but find the city, that gives no pleasure, can give no rest; my resolution cannot sustain me; Dublin has cultivated all the infirmities of mind, and matured them to a painful perfection. What can a mind do without the exercise of business, or the relaxation of pleasure?—My constitution must at last partake of my agitations, and already I am told my appearance is pining.

Politics give me some relief; but you see how little has been done, and how our country disgraces itself by feeble attempts at resentment. The measure was pernicious, the manner was insolent.* What has been done? We have declared that we are affronted. We have declared that we will not join with Government to insult Parliament; but we have not expelled, committed, suspended, attacked the advisers of the measure, nor drawn one inference from premises, on whose groundwork men of spirit must advance. The different views of the men who oppose the corruption of the age, and the sordid spirit of the country we live in,

* The King had disregarded the resolution of the House of Commons, and had created the additional Commissioners.

disappoint its sanguine advocates, and make their zeal useless and impotent.

I have attended to the debates—they were insipid—every one was speaking; nobody was eloquent. Flood himself (such was the spirit of the House,) was obliged to be rather notable, than eloquent. The opposition of the winter may have shown that our Parliament is not totally prostitute; but it has also shewn that the integrity of Parliament can do no service: and the Government of Lord Townshend will be an immortal proof that the worst measures may succeed, notwithstanding the opposition of the Irish Parliament.

I am now called to the bar, without knowledge or ambition in my profession. The Four Courts are of all places the most disagreeable; the lawyers in general are an ardent, rather than an eloquent society.

My purpose is undetermined—my passion is retreat. I am resolved to gratify it at any expense. There is certainly repose, and may be an elegance, in insignificance.

It is, however, the peculiar misfortune of a country which, though my native one, I must call too hospitable, that wherever you fly—wherever you secrete yourself—the sociable disposition of the Irish will follow you and in every barren spot of this kingdom, you must submit to a state of dissipation or hostility. When do you mean to visit Dublin? Together we might make it agreeable; powerful as it is to destroy a relish for pleasure, it cannot get the better of friendship; we may walk, and debate, and repine together—we may enjoy the society of spleen, which is more sincere than philanthropy. Hasten to one who is yours,

Most affectionately,
HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

Granby Row, Feb. 27, 1772.

MY DEAR DAY,

You have expected parliamentary and national intelligence. You have conceived, from the present situation of Ireland, that both would have been interesting. You have deceived yourself; great objects have been agitated; no comprehensive or violent debates have ensued. The addition of five Commissioners, whether you consider it as a useless, a venal, an expensive, or an insulting measure, was highly exceptionable; — that it demanded national resentment, and parliamentary assertion, was allowed by every party in opposition. The degree to which it should be resented, the measure by which it should vindicate its dignity, were subjects of division among all. The Duke of Leinster insisted on expulsion; Lord Shannon wished for mildness; Mr. Ponsonby was impatient for a Committee to the King; each condemned the redress proposed by the other, till they all were almost reconciled to the grievance. Men who meant well to the kingdom, and stood unconnected, saw that no strong measure could be carried, and that no meek measure was sufficient. Flood accordingly conceived a motion which, without an alarming violence, would be to the new Commission highly embarrassing. Though the King may have a power, by Act of Parliament, to appoint twelve Commissioners, yet, to enable a division of the boards to act with a separate efficacy, a new Act of Parliament is, I am told, indispensable: to resolve that the House of Commons would not pass such an Act, was his motion. The papers have told you that this motion was carried. After the success of this motion, it was moved to suspend the five Commissioners

of Excise from their attendance on the House of Commons; but this motion was defeated immediately. The sociable disposition of our country, as well as its moderation, would never support a measure of personal violence. Another motion was made, to condemn the advice which persuaded the King to appoint these Commissioners. It was, upon an equality of voices, referred to the Speaker, who determined, without hesitation, in favour of opposition. Nothing more has been done, I believe, because nothing more can be carried. Defensive resolutions may be passed in Ireland, but an active perseverance is beyond the spirit of our parliament or people.

Flood and Hussey were not eminent in these debates. Flood did not excel, because he did not exert himself in eloquence; but persuaded, that a single suffrage was of the last consequence, and that it was easy to disgust a fluctuating individual, he was cautious in every assertion, shrewd and guarded in every observation; he watched the varying countenance of the House, and hastened to correct every prejudicial impression, in the language of wisdom, not oratory. Lord Shannon, it is imagined, is gone over to Government; if so, Lord Townshend may possibly see another Session, not otherwise. Remember me to all our friends.

Yours, most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Dec. 29, 1772.

I did intend to write before, but hate to write to you in a hurry, and in the same temper with which I write to others. I am now at Celbridge, go to Calvertstown tomorrow, but will probably return to Celbridge, and not go

on to Kilkenny. I have, for these few days, read the law; and I see the nonsense of being a practitioner, unless I spend my vacations for the purpose of study in one place. Last summer was completely so much time taken out of my life, of which I can never give the smallest account.

Ireland continues in perfect repose, except a duel; nothing gives it entertainment.

Lord Harcourt is proper and decent, and old and polite; and having done nothing, has done no mischief: he is very much the reverse of poor Sancho.*

Sir William Osborne is not yet, as I have heard, dismissed. It is generally believed he will be turned out, as he refuses to take the oaths, under the new appointment of the Commissioners, who are now constructed in a different manner, in consequence of the division of the boards.

I wish you could be in Dublin any part of this winter; we might have pleasant parties together, to Powerscourt, &c. &c. I enjoy the country in expedition with you, more than in a course of residence.

I am much obliged to you and Moore† for a wish to see me, but really (I am speaking truth), the time of year, the shortness of the vacation, the scattered visits which I must make, and the necessity of reading a little to a man who has a great prospect of study, though not of advancement, would make the journey to Dunamore inconvenient.

Yours most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

* Lord Townshend, so named in "Barataria."

† Afterwards Judge Moore, a great friend of Mr. Grattan, who assisted in his return for Wicklow, to oppose the Union in 1800, and on whose arm he came leaning into the House of Commons, when attacked by Mr. Corry.

CHAPTER XII.

Close of Lord Townshend's administration.—Accession of Lord Harcourt. — Absentee tax proposed but abandoned. — Insignificant concessions to Ireland. — First concession to the Catholics.—Conformity encouraged. — Origin of Irish resistance. — The American question.—Ireland called on to assist in the war.—She resists.—Popular efforts against the measure. — The spirit of the people roused. — The Hutchinsons. — Hely Hutchinson. — Double duel. — Mr. Grattan to Mr. Broome. — The same to the same. — Character of Hely Hutchinson.—His powers as a speaker—His satire.—Attack on Flood.—Attorney-General Tisdall.—Anecdotes.—Death of Tisdall.

Lord Townshend's Government at length retired, and gave place to Lord Harcourt's, whose administration commenced in November 1772 with many professions of economy, and great promise of reduction; but it proved not less extravagant or more constitutional than the preceding. It originated one, and altered four money-bills in the Privy Council. Its profusion and expense were as improper and unjustifiable; and though the House of Commons had, in 1757, unanimously voted that "the granting so much of the public

revenues in pensions, was an improvident disposition of the revenues, an injury to the crown, and detrimental to the people," and though complaints on this subject had been general under the preceding administration, yet from 1772, the date of its accession, to 1777, when it retired, the list of pensions was augmented from 52,253*l.* to 89,095*l.*

In October 1733, Parliament assembled, and provided for the payment of an arrear of 265,000*l.*, and granted in addition near 100,000*l.* a-year, to which increase of duties they were induced by the solemn pledge given to the Commons, that the expenses of Government would be retrenched, and an end put to the practice of running in debt. The Board of Excise, which in the preceding administration had been augmented, was reduced, and an absentee-tax proposed on the part of Government, a tax of two shillings in the pound on the net rents of those who did not reside six months in each year in Ireland.* The English absentee proprietors took the alarm, and a letter was addressed to Lord North from the Duke of Devonshire, Lords Rockingham, Besborough, Mil-

* "No news, but that the ministry give up the Irish tax;—some say, because it will not pass in Ireland; others, because the city of London would have petitioned against it; and some, because there were factions in the council—which is not the most incredible of all. I am glad, for the sake of some of my friends, who would have suffered by it, that it is over."—Horace Walpole's Correspondence, November 1773: Letter to the Earl of Strafford.

ton, and Upper Ossory, remonstrating against the measure, as injurious to both countries, and tending to a separation in interest and affection. Lord North replied that the only knowledge the British Government had of the proposition was the communication from the Lord Lieutenant; that certain measures for the relief of Ireland were to be proposed, of which a tax on absentees formed a part, and the British Government was of opinion that the plan should be carried into execution, although the absentee-tax formed a part of it.*

In consequence of this, the absentee proprietors were summoned to meet, but further proceedings on their part became unnecessary, as the measure was abandoned in the Irish Parliament. Mr. Flood strongly supported it, stating that the rents of Ireland did not exceed *three millions*, of which *one million* was withdrawn by absentees. Mr. Burgh however opposed it. At this period the debt of the nation amounted to 994,890*l.*, and the pensions to 172,464*l.*; notwithstanding which, this ministry, which had promised reduction, and complained of the extravagance of Lord Townshend's government, increased the civil list 9,000*l.*, the militar y22,000*l.*, the revenue 24,000*l.*, and granted new pensions in the space of two years to the amount of 24,000*l.*

In 1774, some inferior measures were passed in

* See Appendix for the list of absentees.

the British Parliament. The fisheries were opened to Ireland; the clothing of the troops that were on the Irish establishment was allowed to be exported from Ireland; and the importation of rape-seed was permitted into Great Britain. These trifling measures, too inconsiderable to deserve the name of relief, and scarcely worth mentioning, were rather the result of the necessities of Great Britain than of her justice.

The first dawn of liberality now appeared, in a Bill to relieve the Roman Catholics, and allow them to lend money on mortgages. The House had, on the 18th of May 1772, passed a bill securing to Papists the repayment to them of money lent to Protestants on mortgage; the second reading of it, however, was only carried by a majority of two—the numbers being 69 to 67. The Catholics evinced their gratitude for this, and presented an address to Lord Townshend, returning him thanks for the lenity of his government, and expressing their hopes that their loyalty would entitle them to obtain some further relaxation of the penal laws.

On the 16th December 1773, a Bill was brought into the Lords to enable Papists to lend money on mortgages, and was carried by 24 to 17. As however this bill was not returned to the Commons, Mr. Langrishe, on the 24th January 1774, brought in a Bill to allow Papists to take mortgages on land. This was carried only by 33 to 29. On

the 8th February, Mr. Maunsell proposed the heads of a Bill to enable Papists to take leases for three lives, but not to constitute a freehold unless the lessees were Protestants: so slow were the steps with which liberality then proceeded. The bill was supported by Mr. Langrishe, Mr. Flood, and Mr. Burgh, and was carried only by 77 to 74. In that debate it was stated that all who had conformed from the year 1702 to the year 1773 only amounted to 4,055:* so unpalatable was the process of conversion, and so ineffectual the progress of the penal laws.

The House went into a Committee on the 11th February on Mr. Langrishe's Bill. The Bill was entitled "A Bill for the better encouragement of persons professing the Popish religion to become Protestants, and for the further improvement of the kingdom." Thus masking as it were their act of liberality under the appearance of religion and Protestantism. By this Bill, Papists might take leases of land for any term of years, in any city or market-town, not exceeding fifty square perches,

* The number of Catholics who conformed were as follows:—

From	1702	to	1708	37
"	1708	"	1713	112
"	1713	"	1723	108
"	1723	"	1733	403
"	1733	"	1743	639
"	1743	"	1752	569
"	1752	"	1762	876
"	1762	"	1773	1301
				4055

and in any other part not exceeding fifty plantation acres; no Papist to have more than one lot—on taking his lease to take the oath of allegiance—and at his death the lease to gavel among his successors; and if the widow or children should conform within twelve months, conformist was to have the largest share.* This Bill, which was at that time considered an act of great liberality, would now be looked on with amazement and indignation; and it serves to show how strange was that union which a few years afterwards took place between parties that viewed each other with such suspicion. This Bill passed by a majority of 123 to 69.

On the bill to enable Catholics to take leases for lives, the Committee was put off to the month of August; so that the measure was defeated.

Thus ended the session of 1774. The one which now approached was pregnant with great events, and laid the foundation of that resistance which sprung up shortly afterwards. On the opening of Parliament on the 10th October, 1775, the address to the Lord Lieutenant alluded to the American war, which it termed a *rebellion*. An amendment was proposed by Mr. Ponsonby, in favour of adopting conciliatory measures with

* "Difference in point of faith," said Mr. Burgh, "is not the question; we differ in regard to the geography of the other world. I think there are but two climes in it, the papists think there are three; but yet they might agree in the geography and cultivation of this world, and I am not to consider what they think of the next, provided they let me go quietly through this."

regard to the colonies, but in vain; and the address was carried, though strongly opposed by Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Burgh, and Mr. Daly—the latter declaring that this war would lead to the taxation of Ireland, and that 30,000 English swords would enforce the doctrine. The next day Mr. Burgh moved an amendment, on the report being brought up, expressive of their concern at the disturbances in America, and condemning the causes that led to them. He declared that if America was brought on her knees, Ireland would be enslaved, that Great Britain had not relinquished her design of destroying the rights of this kingdom—that she had taken away the final judicature—and had burned, by the hands of the common hangman, the book written by Molyneux, in defence of the rights of Ireland. The amendment, however, was lost, and the address passed by 92 to 52.

This proceeding on the part of Government, was quickly followed up; and Parliament having approved in some degree of the principle, was called on to assist in the war; and on the 25th of November, a motion was made that 4,000 men should be spared for service abroad, out of the 12,000 which was the number declared necessary by law for the internal defence of Ireland; and it was proposed that an equal number of foreign *Protestant troops* should be admitted, in lieu of those sent abroad. At this two-fold proposition,

the result of bigotry on the one side, and tyranny on the other, the spirit of the patriotic party was roused. Mr. Ponsonby declared that if Ireland assisted England in punishing America for resisting the taxation that was attempted to be enforced by England, she furnished an argument against herself. Mr. Fitzgibbon (the father) said that if Ireland refused her aid, the king would pause, and proceed with greater caution, and thus Ireland would be the means of inducing him to put an end to so unjust a war. Mr. Bushe declared that it was against the law of nations, the law of the land, the law of humanity, and the law of nature; that the proposition to save the pay of 4,000 men, was merely a bribe held out to Ireland to get her to cut the throats of the Americans; and that if the principle of taxation was established against America, Ireland would be at the mercy of England.

Mr. Burgh concluded a most able speech by saying that he had laid it down as a maxim never to give support to a motion which was calculated to harass the minister, and not to serve the people. "When there was a considerable majority on the part of the Government, I thought it best not to hazard a question which there was a certainty of losing. I have made, for that reason, fewer motions than any man in this House. Having no enemies to encounter—no partizans to serve—without passion, without prejudice, and without fear—I will

deliver my opinion on the present question,—one of the greatest importance. I will not vote a single man against America, without an accompanying address recommending conciliatory measures. I foresee the consequence of this war. If Ministers are victorious, it will only be establishing a right to the harvest, after they have burned the grain—it will be establishing a right to the stream, after they have cut off the fountain. Such is my opposition—a method ill calculated to secure emolument, or to gain popularity. My conduct will not please either party; but I despise profit, and I despise popularity, if one is to be gained only by blind servility, and the other purchased by blind zeal. Farewell emolument, farewell popularity, if fair fame is to be the victim."

Mr. Yelverton made a most eloquent speech on the same side, supported by Mr. Conolly, and opposed by Mr. Foster, Mr. Langrishe, and Mr. Flood, who had just accepted the office of one of the three Vice-Treasurers. All opposition was fruitless, and the measure was finally carried by 121 to 76.

When it came afterwards into Committee, Anthony Malone in the chair, Mr. Bushe proposed an amendment, but in vain; the 4,000 men were voted by 103 to 58; and the second proposition, to substitute 4,000 Protestant troops, free of all charge to Ireland, in lieu of those withdrawn from the country, was defeated by 106 to 68.

In the House of Lords, also, the measure met

considerable opposition from the Duke of Leinster, Lords Charlemont, Meath, Powerscourt, Wandesford, and Farnham. They entered their protest against the measure, denouncing it as a breach of faith towards Ireland, and a violation of the agreement to keep up 12,000 men for the defence of the kingdom.

These debates, which were animated and eloquent, and were kept up in every stage of the measure with great spirit, made a deep impression on the minds of the Irish people. They felt the principle of freedom, and saw the danger of its violation. The dread of taxation, and inability to contribute to the expenses of so unjust a war, made them reflect on their situation; and both at home and abroad they beheld the rights of a nation invaded, and the liberties of mankind endangered.

In the British House of Commons these proceedings were, in February, 1777, brought under the consideration of Parliament by Mr. Townshend, and an attempt was made to censure the conduct of the Irish Government; but without success.

We now digress to another subject and turn to the following letters which refer to a very remarkable family, the founder of which was John Hely Hutchinson—whose character is described in "Barataria" by Sir Hercules Langrishe. They rose by their talents. The father was Prime Serjeant in

the beginning of the reign of George III.—Provost of Trinity College—had the pay of major in the army—was a lawyer—a Member of Parliament—and in 1782 was Secretary of State for Ireland. He grew so conspicuous for engrossing office, that he was viewed with jealousy by most men of his day, but who could neither equal him in ability or address. Of his sons, Richard Hely, Earl of Donoughmore, was Representative Peer in the Imperial Parliament, and John Hely, Lord Hutchinson, was general in the army, and was created a British Peer for his military services in Egypt, in 1801.

Both of these personages were always friends to the Catholics; the latter, however, supported the Union; but after it had passed, he bitterly and loudly lamented it. He was considered the bosom friend of the Prince of Wales; and when the restrictions expired, and his royal highness got his father's crown, and retained his father's administration (notwithstanding all their ill usage towards him,) Lord Hutchinson still essayed, but in vain, to keep alive in the breast of George IV. the decaying embers of his early Irish affection.

Mr. Hutchinson,* who was an active and practised politician, was a character most unfit for the

* In 1748, he was called to the bar;—in 1759, he came into Parliament;—in 1762, was appointed Prime Serjeant;—in 1774, Provost;—in 1777 Secretary of State for Ireland;—in 1795, he died. A humorous essay, entitled "Pranceriana" appeared on the occasion of his being elected Provost, inveighing most bitterly against him; it was full of satire and ridicule.

situation of Provost of the University; and he naturally drew upon himself a host of enemies. It was exactly the office he should have avoided. Neither his avocations nor his habits fitted him to discharge its duties. He had dispersed a meeting of college electors who had assembled to consider the choice of a representative; and this proceeding drew from Mr. William Doyle a spirited address, in which he complained of the conduct of the Provost. The Provost sent him a message; but Mr. Doyle, being afflicted with sore eyes, objected to stand merely to be shot at, without the power of retaliating; but he promised *a punctual attendance*, as soon as he was able to stir out. This, however, did not satisfy; and the Provost's son, taking offence also, sent a message to Doyle. The answer was, that he had nothing to say to him—that the offence, if any, was to the father.

Upon this the son posted Mr. Doyle, and some expressions of the father having been reported to Mr. Doyle, he, in his turn, sent the *message*. The parties met—which was not an easy matter to accomplish; for the Provost had the gout, and Doyle the rheumatism; and the latter was so ill, that he was obliged to lean upon a crutch. Both fired,—but neither party was wounded. Thus ended this unseemly proceeding. Afterwards Mr. Doyle and the Provost's son proceeded to settle their separate quarrel, but were prevented

by the civil authorities. They, however, went abroad, and there arranged their dispute, but fortunately without any fatal consequences.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

July 19, 1774.

MY DEAR BROOME,

I was not able to leave town last night, my business keeping me,—my horse not fit to carry me. I shall go down in an hour to Celbridge, with great doubts of my horse's ability or disposition to bear me. If I can return to Bray to-morrow, I will; but it will not be very easy for me to do that, or very dutiful in me to leave Marlay so abruptly; however, it is not impossible but I may.

I enclose the paper, without being able to get a frank.

Mr. Hutchinson walked as Provost yesterday, at the funeral of his predecessor. He is understood to carry over his pension of 1,000*l.* a-year. Mr. Blaquiere, the alnager, is understood to have the original salary of 300*l.* only, with his predecessor's pretensions to a pension of 1,000*l.* Mr. Dennis is Prime Serjeant—Mr. Scott solicitor. Mr. Hussey is said to have declared his intention of proposing himself to College as candidate. Mr. Edward Malone, second son to the late judge, and our friend Doyle, avow themselves as intending to stand candidates for College. They both declared to me those intentions, and propose themselves to consideration. Mr. Malone waited on the Provost to declare his sentiments, and was received with great surprise.

Yours most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

January 28, 1775.

MY DEAR BROOME,

I have this moment received your two letters. It was unnecessary for you to draw on Wybrant's. Doyle has been much embroiled by antagonists, having fought one duel, and having on his hands another, calling on his antagonists in both. He is, in the opinion of the world, justified for refusing to meet a third enemy, who had no claim of honour upon him. The world seems, in his case, to have adopted his principle, that a man who has fought is not obliged to fight every man who calls upon him. The affair is fully stated in the newspapers in all its extent. With respect to Walshe, every thing is ended; with respect to Hutchinson, I understand, every thing is not ended, and the parties being bound over here, Doyle seems determined, as soon as he can bear the sea, to visit some other country.

My alarms, I believe, were groundless. I find myself tolerably well, though afflicted now and then by rheumaticks, and always by idleness. I shall hold some years longer, with an utter distaste to the world. I mean to ride to-day to Tinnehinch, and return to-morrow. Here I feel the want of you. I go to that place with a heavy heart, and am impatient to leave it before I get to it.

Four regiments are to be sent to America from Ireland; one of Dragoons, (viz. Drogheda's light horse,) who bring their horses along with them.

You see in the paper, Lord Chatham has moved in the House of Lords, to recall the forces from Boston. There is a poor account of the debate in the newspaper. Here

there is nothing new, nothing interesting; a noisy Four Courts, a lazy metropolis, and a childish public spirit. Remember me to Moore, and Mr. Whitley, and believe me,

Yours most affectionately,

HENRY GRATTAN.

The individual just mentioned, deserves here a more particular attention.

John Hely Hutchinson came into office as Prime Serjeant under Lord Townshend's administration. He belonged to a fine race, possessed great spirit and courage, and supported almost every honest measure; among others, the Claim of Right, the Free Trade, the Catholics, and the Reform. He supported the Pension Bill. He voted, but did not speak on the American War. There were many lesser measures that he did not support, but the main and essential ones he did. Horace Walpole, in his Memoirs, says of him, "he annoyed Rigby, and other courtiers; possessed of good parts he exerted them briskly, and gave much annoyance to the administration of the day."

Hutchinson's error was, that he grasped at office, and kept it with the various Administrations. This rendered him unpopular, and his situation as Provost made him more so; but these private objects cannot be set up against great public measures; and the reason men cried out against

him was, that they considered him as their rival in the way of office, and there every man was his competitor, and felt more, perhaps, on that account, than on any great question; for men cannot judge of the one as they have not time to see its effect or its benefit, but every man is, or professes to be, a judge of the other.

Hutchinson wrote an excellent treatise, intitled "Commercial Restraints of Ireland," for which he deservedly obtained the highest credit. As a speaker he was good; he possessed, perhaps, greater powers of satire than any other man; it was incomparable; nothing could be better; it was the finest and severest style, adapted to the highest order of matter, and in its effects it was fatal. Flood's was very good, but Hutchinson's was better; his reply was neater and more severe; there was nothing coarse, and it was certain to be remembered.

In 1768, he made a celebrated reply to Mr. Flood, who had described him in several letters signed Philadelphus, which were published in the papers of the day, and he there draws his character under the title of "*Serjeant Rufinus*," (being Prime Sergeant at the commencement of the reign,) and he treats his conduct with great severity. But Mr. Flood's authority is doubtful; for he was rather too partial, at that period, to give a fair opinion of Hutchinson's character. Hutchinson retaliated upon him in the House, and

concluded his philippic by terming him a "spouter of periods," an "artificer of attitudes," a "petty dealer in seven-fold phraseology." Some nights afterwards, Flood replied, and severely; but Hutchinson very wisely observed, "that they had contended enough, and had better now unite and exert themselves for their country's good."

Hutchinson, no doubt, was the servant of many governments, but *he was an Irishman, notwithstanding*, which was more than could be said of some others, who had Anti-Irish feelings, although they had Irish birth; but Hutchinson was self-interested, and wanted openness and directness of character.

An occurrence between him and Mr. Tisdall, who was Attorney-General, affords an instance of his humour. Some particular measures had been carried in favour of Government, by the exertions chiefly of these two individuals. Hutchinson, who was in office at the time, accosted Tisdall in his humorous style, and said, "Now, Mr. Tisdall, that we have done the service of the Government, what do you think if we were to do something for the country?" Tisdall, with his wonted gravity, replied, "Mr. Hutchinson, ruined!—ruined by G—! if we attempt that, we are undone. The opposition will bear that we should take the emoluments, *but if we lay claim to popularity, we are ruined for ever.*"

They were both very odd characters, and both

very vain, but in a different way. Tisdall's vanity was grave,—Hutchinson's was gay. Hutchinson would exert himself for liberty, if it did not interfere with his interest;—Tisdall was averse to any liberty whatever.

The friendship between these two individuals, however, did not subsist long; and when Hutchinson was Provost in 1776, he quarrelled with his old friend. Having been insulted in the Four Courts by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Duigenan, and deeming it beneath his dignity to have any thing to do with so low a person, he called upon Tisdall to make him responsible for his friend's conduct. He told him that one of his retainers had insulted him, and that he would make him answer for it; and that therefore he must consider that *he* had intended to insult him. Mr. Tisdall calmly replied, "Mr. Provost, I will consider no such thing;" and he walked into the King's Bench, and applied for an information against him. Hutchinson spoke in his own defence; seventeen counsel were engaged; and the information would have been granted, had not Tisdall died in the mean time. Thus Hutchinson escaped by the death of his friend, and got his son, afterwards Lord Donoughmore, elected Member for the University in his place. A petition, however, was presented against his return—the seat was vacated and Mr. Fitzgibbon (Lord Clare) who had been counsel in the case against Mr. Hutchinson, was rewarded

for his legal exertions by being chosen representative, and in 1777, he took his seat for that place along with Walter Hussey Burgh, a great man! and a great name—but—*Heu! quam diversi!!* they then represented the same place—they now repose in the same place—their earthly struggle is over and their remains lie buried in the same church-yard,—the champion of Ireland's liberty and her betrayer! but "*the evil men do lives after them*"—while "*the good is oft interred with the bones.*"

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. Grattan's first entrance into Parliament.—His connexion with Lord Charlemont.—Sits for the borough of Charlemont.—His first speech.—Opposed to Mr. Flood.—Unjust distribution of offices.—Opinions of the press of Mr. Grattan's debut in Parliament.—Embargo on provisions the cause of great distress.—Mr. Grattan moves for retrenchment.—Charles Fox becomes acquainted with Mr. Grattan.—Distress of the people.—Swift on the treatment of Ireland.—The Irish in America.—English reverses in America.—Their beneficial effect on Ireland.—1778.—Motion by Mr. Grattan for retrenchment—without success.—Popish Relief Bill.—Denis Daly, his character.—Mr. Grattan's intimacy with him.—Daly's death in 1791.

It was at the important crisis of the American war that freedom acquired a new champion by Mr. Grattan's entrance into Parliament. His connexion with Lord Charlemont led to this fortunate event, and under his auspices (there could not be better) he commenced his public life. On the death of Mr. Caulfield, Lord Charlemont's brother, who was lost at sea between Parkgate and Dublin, Mr. Grattan was returned for the borough of Charlemont, and took his seat on the 11th of December 1775.

The first speech he made was on the 15th, and had reference to the celebrated individual, Mr. Flood, his early friend, his future competitor. It

was on the petition of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, Mr. Craggs Clare and Welbore Ellis, who sought compensation for the loss of official fees. In justice to Mr. Flood, who had just accepted the office, it must be said that he declined to sign the petition; he always contended that these offices should be brought home, and the evils of absenteeism so far remedied. His idea was, that no good could be done to Ireland without taking office; that the influence of the crown was so great, that it was not possible to oppose it; and that the only way to serve the country was by serving her when in power. He had succeeded Lord Hawkesbury, whose predecessor had been Lord Chatham, and both of whom were absentees. Such was the manner in which office and salary were distributed.

This had been a grievance of long standing; and so far back as 1724, Swift complains, in one of his Drapier's letters, that all the considerable offices were enjoyed by those who had weight at the court of England and resided in that kingdom; Lord Berkeley held the great office of Master of the Rolls; Lord Palmerston that of Rembrancer, at 2000*l.* a-year; Doddington, secretary to Lord Pembroke, was Clerk of the Rolls, at 2,500*l.* per annum; Southwell was Secretary of State; Lord Burlington was Lord High Treasurer; Mr. Addison was Keeper of Bermingham Tower; Hopkins, secretary to the Duke of Grafton, was

Master of the Revels; Mr. Arden was Treasurer, with 9,000*l.* a-year; and of the Commissioners of Revenue, four resided in England. Injustice so flagrant as this, loudly called for condemnation.

Mr. Grattan said the measure was a new Money Bill, in the disguise of an address to gratify the petitioners, who were absentees, and who possessed lucrative sinecures, receiving upwards of 3,000*l.* a-year for doing nothing.* The motion, however, was carried, and 3,500*l.* a-year was granted to each of the three Vice-Treasurers.

The next measure Mr. Grattan took a part in was on Mr. Hussey Burgh's motion on the embargo; "that the attempt to suspend law, under the colour of the prerogative of the crown, was illegal."

In the month of February, 1776, Government laid an embargo, by proclamation, on the export of provisions from Ireland. In consequence of this, the distresses of the country greatly increased; her linen trade declined; her provision trade was stopped; thousands of artizans were unemployed in Dublin, and the complaints were general throughout the kingdom. This proceeding, so violent and tyrannical and so detrimental to the manufactures and commerce of Ireland, was adopted by the British minister at the instigation

* The remarks in the papers of the day were as follows.—"Mr. Grattan spoke—not a studied speech, but in reply—the spontaneous flow of natural eloquence. Though so young a man, he spoke without hesitation; and if he keeps to this example, will be a valuable weight in the scale of patriotism."

of some private individuals, and in order to favour a few interested contractors, thus was Ireland made the victim of their cupidity and misrepresentations in utter disregard of the advice and remonstrance even of those who were then connected with the Irish Government, but who nevertheless, had not abjured every affection for their country. The motion was warmly supported by Mr. Grattan, Mr. Bushe, and Mr. Yelverton, and opposed by Mr. Flood, who gave it as his opinion that the crown possessed the right by virtue of its prerogative. In reply to Mr. Flood, Mr. Burgh declared the act to be arbitrary and illegal, and that all the arguments he used against it, were taken from a work written by Sir John Davies, to flatter James I. into the idea that he should be absolute. The motion was lost by 66 to 89.

In November, 1777, Mr. Grattan moved for retrenchment in the expenses of the Government, and took an opportunity to condemn the policy of Great Britain in regard to America. This motion was rejected; and another attempt to get rid of the embargo, made by Mr. Maunsell, with a view to enable Ireland to supply the forces with provisions, shared a similar fate; it was, however, opposed by Mr. Hussey Burgh, who had accepted the office of Prime Serjeant, and which in consequence drew down upon him an attack from Mr. Daly.

Mr. Grattan strove in vain to oppose the embargo and the improper grant of pensions; and the

Session of 1777 passed without any relief being obtained for the people, notwithstanding the exertions of the party, which, however, was daily acquiring greater strength and well deserved popularity.

At this time Mr. Fox came over to Ireland, and then commenced that acquaintance with Mr. Grattan, which, a few years afterwards, proved to be of such service to the country, and which united Mr. Grattan in ties of friendship with that great character,—ties that subsisted through various changes, both in Ireland and England, until the lamented death of that individual in 1806. He heard Mr. Grattan speak in November, 1777, on a motion regarding a pension granted to a person of the name of Supple, a dependant of Sir John Blaquiere, who, by means of some job, got an office, respecting which a motion was made "that the order in Council appointing him should be laid before the House." The Court party sought to screen this individual, which Mr. Grattan opposed. Mr. Fox, as the Rules were not very strict, happened to sit in the body of the House, and perhaps this courtesy was shown to him as Member of the English Parliament. He afterwards met Mr. Grattan at dinner at Lord Moira's, and was much struck by his manner and style; he complimented him on his speech, and quoted some of the passages which he had heard. This tact and politeness on the part of Mr. Fox, united with the gentle and

captivating manner which always marked him in private, made an early impression on Mr. Grattan; and long after he used to relate the circumstance with considerable pleasure. It was the production of an acquaintance and respect that was permanent and sincere.

The acquiescence of Parliament,—her vote of support,—her vote of men to assist in the war, produced no good. The decay of the linen trade, and the provision trade, had reduced the inhabitants to the extremest poverty. The streets of Dublin were paraded by numerous bodies of starving manufacturers, who displayed a black fleece as a token of their distress and despair. Ten thousand of them were thrown out of employment.

In vain did Mr. Daly and Mr. Grattan declare, in the House of Commons, that thousands of the inhabitants were starving, and that while England enjoyed a foreign trade without bounds, Ireland was deprived of hers, and was taxed to support the war, and uphold a code of penal laws and illiberal restrictions.

Justly had Swift observed, "Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern history, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities wherever they pleased. Yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused to us in the most momentous parts of commerce; be-

sides an Act of Navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us and rigorously executed."

At length, Fate decided in favour of Ireland, and the defeat of General Burgoyne, at Saratoga, October 1777, opened the eyes of the Minister to the necessity of a change in his policy towards Ireland. A connection had been formed between Ireland and America; and the Irish, who had left their country in search of land, of habitations, of bread, and for liberty, stood foremost on the side of the Americans. It seemed as if Providence, with a mysterious and final justice, employed those Irish bands whom British Government banished from home, to turn back upon her, and take from the arrogance of her brow the palm of empire. The result of this defeat was felt in Ireland, and the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was the first fruits of it.

In the year 1778 the distresses of the country were not relieved, and the expenses were not reduced; on the contrary, the pensions and salaries were augmented. Accordingly, on the 2nd Feb., Mr. Robert Stewart, father of Lord Castlereagh, proposed a resolution declaratory of the national expenses, and praying for retrenchment, but without success; and Mr. Grattan, on the 6th, moved an Address to the King, stating the inability of the nation to contribute to the heavy expenses, and praying for reduction and economy.

He entered into a long detail of the finances of the country, and shewed that the Pension List then exceeded the entire Civil List of 1757, and was double the amount of pensions in that year, when the House had "resolved that the improvident disposition thereof was an injury to the Crown and detrimental to the public."

Mr. Foster, and Mr. Burgh, then Prime Serjeant, supported the proposition; the latter declaring, that though he assented to the measures of Government during the Session, he must now oppose them. This declaration from an official personage, and the disregard he showed for the situation which he held under Government, together with the conduct of Mr. Foster, perplexed the Minister. Mr. Flood, however (the new Vice-Treasurer), opposed the motion, and it was lost by 71 to 133. But no attention whatsoever was paid to the suggestions thrown out by these individuals, and the complaints of the people were suffered to pass unredressed.

At length, Mr. Daly moved an Address to his Majesty, expressing their regret at the war, stating the great injuries sustained by Ireland, adding, however, that his Majesty might still rely on their services. This Address, in consequence of the addition, passed the House, but still the Minister remained heedless.

Another attempt was made in August, by Mr. Daly, to carry an Address to the King, in order

to assist the trade of the country, by granting a free export; but he was again unsuccessful. Mr. Grattan, Yelverton, and Fitzgibbon, gave him a most strenuous support, but Government prevailed, and rejected the motion, and the only measure of importance which passed this Session, was the Popish Relief Bill, which came under discussion in the month of August. This Bill enabled Roman Catholics to make leases for lives or years concurrent, and to take land for 999 years, or any number of years determinable on lives not exceeding five. Many alterations had been made in the Bill in England, and the clause regarding the Dissenters had been struck out. The Bill, however, was supported by Mr. Yelverton, in a most able speech, and by Mr. Grattan, who objected to the alterations and omissions. It was opposed by Mr. Fitzgibbon, who, even at this early period, discovered those sentiments which afterwards proved so fatal to his country.

With a view to throw out the Bill, it was moved to be committed on the 4th of Nov.; but this motion was lost by 84 to 127, and the Bill accordingly passed.

Mr. Denis Daly, who had taken so active a part this Session, deserves especial notice here. He was an individual singularly gifted. Born a man of family, of integrity, of courage, and of talent, he possessed much knowledge and great good-nature, an excellent understanding, and

great foresight. His mind was strong, he was noble, liberal, and open-hearted. He had no vanity, but he had pride; he was fastidious, not vain; he possessed that pride which belongs to talent. His temper was hot, but his disposition gentle. In person, Denis Daly was handsome, of a pleasing and agreeable address, and so excellent a manner, that by it he conciliated everybody. His voice was good, and his sentences were accurately correct; they were all perfect. He did not aim at a peculiar superiority in their construction; and one was not greatly better than the other; but in every one there was a strength and a point. He almost always prepared himself beforehand. He was in parliament from 1769 to 1791, and his speeches were chiefly in 1778, on the Embargo, and in 1780-81. He was a friend to the Catholics, and he always supported them. Daly was rather a great speaker than a great debater. There were men who possessed more diligence and information, but he surpassed them all in talent. The noble quality of his mind placed him above the ordinary level of other men. He made use of the superior genius which nature gave him, to protect the weak; to do so seemed a part of his nature; and if there was a young man in company hardly pressed, he would come forth to his assistance, and throw his shield over him. But Daly was indolent, and not well versed in public accounts;

nevertheless, on a field-day, he would have proved superior to any man, and left far behind him every competitor. He had as much talent as Malone, with more boldness; he surpassed Hussey Burgh in statement, though he was not so good in reply; and he was superior to Flood in general powers, though without his force of invective. The positions he took were generally strong, and his skill in their defence rendered them impregnable. No man took more care in writing his speeches, and none so little to preserve them.

Daly's hospitality was great, and his entertainments were frequent and agreeable. He was a good classical scholar, and possessed an excellent library; and his books, which were his chief expense, lay around in the room where his friends used to meet, and where the resources of his mind vied with the generosity of his disposition. His liberality was great, and he left his fortune, in consequence, much encumbered. He had, perhaps, too much aristocratic feeling about him; he did not like the "*fumum strepitumque Romæ;*" he feared to let the people have too large a share in the government of the country, and he judged of the people of Ireland, from the people of his own county;—but what might be good logic in Galway, was not good logic in the House of Commons.

In 1780, Daly had opposed the measure of independence, and had spoken against it, depre-

cating the time and the danger. He had accepted a poor office, that of Muster-Master, with a salary of 1,200*l.* a-year; and he who ought to have given office to a Lord Lieutenant, condescended to accept one from him. This injured him; and Mr. Eden had weight with him, as he had with all the party at that time. He was, however, strongly attached to Mr. Grattan; and even when he followed the court, and publicly supported them, he assisted *him* privately, and was of great service at that momentous period. He was the only man with whom Mr. Grattan kept up a constant communication; and even when he opposed the question of right, he did it like an Irishman.

Daly took at first an active part in Parliament, but did not speak much after; and was accused, though unjustly, of remaining silent. In fact, he never spoke much at any time; but he was somewhat cramped by office, which in general spoils men, makes them keep one sort of company, and deprives them of the benefit of hearing both sides. They separate themselves from the people; they begin by finding fault with their manners; they then attack their principles; and next they attack their rights. Daly, however, was not liable to the entire of this charge; he was very honest, and was as little affected by the situation he held as any person could be. He was not a corrupt man, though in his moments of hilarity he used to say he was,—adding, jocularly however, "If I am cor-

rupt, I am not *very* corrupt." But it was indolence that injured him; that was his fault: he wanted only ambition to become the leading man of the country; he was fitted to be so, and in a free state he would have been so.

Daly's speaking was a succession of electric shocks, that followed each other so quickly, that they not only convinced, but subdued the understanding. He was not a better speaker than Yelverton; for Yelverton's best speeches were superior to those of any man; but Daly had a better manner, a better tone, a better figure, and greater natural eloquence. Yelverton's mind was stronger, but his manner was coarse. On one occasion, Daly attacked Hussey Burgh, and did it well. Burgh had voted against a motion condemning the embargo, having on a former occasion opposed it. It was an act contrary to law, and was passed to gratify a few English contractors. Burgh, at that time, held office; and alluding to him, Daly said, "*The Treasury bench resembles the grave—it levels all distinctions.*" Burgh replied at the time, and observed, "To receive such attacks, belongs to my situation; to deserve them, belongs to myself." He was much affected on the occasion, and striking his breast as he sat down by Mr. Grattan, he turned to him and said, "*If I live, I shall answer it.*" He did so, and in the noblest manner—not, indeed, by words, but by the most dignified and patriotic conduct, when after

an eloquent speech in favour of his country, on which occasion he electrified the House by the splendid allusion to the volunteers of Ireland and the laws of England, which he described "*as sown like serpents' teeth, and springing up in armed men*"—he resigned his office, and gave up all hopes of preferment!

Mr. Daly died in 1791, and his loss was regretted by no one more than by Mr. Grattan. He always complained of that as a "*prodigious loss;*" and that he would rather have followed his advice than that of any other man. His foresight and knowledge of men were very remarkable, and were particularly manifested on one occasion,—that to which Mr. Grattan alludes in his reply to the pamphlet of Lord Clare, where he mentions Mr. Daly's spirit of prophecy. There was a dinner at Mr. Hobart's in 1785, in the Duke of Rutland's time, where Mr. Daly, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and others met. The Opposition had gained a great point at that time; the propositions had been ceded; England had yielded fairly and ustly; and the party were in high spirits—very joyous—and greatly elated with their victory. Some of the company alluded to a Union, and Fitzgibbon exclaimed in an exulting tone, "Who will dare talk of a union now? If such a thing was proposed to me, I would fling my office in the man's face." The company were very gay; and when Fitzgibbon retired, Daly said, "That is

the man who would support it—that little man who has talked so big, would vote for a union—aye, to-morrow."

Mr. Grattan's opinion was, that Daly's death was an irretrievable loss to Ireland; that if he had lived, there probably would have been no insurrection; he would have spoken to the people with authority, and would have restrained the Government; for he had great weight with them, and they would have listened to him: he might thus have prevented the disturbances—for a very little would have done it. The Government wanted men of weight and coolness, and authority; and they had none; they had a hot little fury to deal with; they had violent men at the Castle; and here Daly's manner and mind and ascendancy would have awed and restrained.

CHAPTER XIV.

End of Lord Harcourt's Administration.—Succeeded by the Earl of Buckinghamshire.—Commissioners sent to treat with American Colonies.—Jealousy and distress of Ireland.—Letter of Lord Lieutenant to Lord North.—Irish ask for enlargement of their Trade.—Their attachment to the King and the Government.—Letter of Lord Lieutenant to Lord Weymouth.—Militia Bill.—Offer by the gentry to raise men among their tenantry.—Independent Companies.—Singular state of Irish affairs.—Lord North's opinion.—Lord Lieutenant's opinions. —Decay of trade.—Exhausted Treasury.—Viceroy borrows 20,000*l.* from La Touche.—Misconduct of Ministers.—All payments stopped. —Government becomes Bankrupt.—They apply for a second sum of 20,000l.—Messrs. La Touche decline the advance.—Encampment of the Military abandoned.—Gross frauds detected in the payment of the troops.—Desperate state of Ireland.—Spencer's opinions on her resources.—Advice to future Ministers.—Letters of the Lord Lieutenant to Lord North on Irish Fisheries.—Injury inflicted on Ireland, Act being evaded.—Linen Manufacture.—Statement of Military Force.—Stops all Payments, Civil and Military.—Sends Mr. Clements to London to Lord North for assistance.—Letter to Lord Weymouth.—Stops the movement of the troops.—Left without supplies.—Impossible to defend Ireland if attacked.

THE prodigal administration of Lord Harcourt terminated in 1776, and on the 25th of January, 1777, the Earl of Buckinghamshire assumed the Government of Ireland. His Ministry forms a most important æra in her history, and led to consequences most favourable to the cause of

Civil Liberty. The rupture between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and the just complaints of the latter roused the feelings and rivetted the attention of the Irish people. They now beheld with surprise and indignation that more respect was paid to the Americans, who were termed "Rebels," than to the Irish, whose loyalty and liberality were not only unquestioned, but marked by the expressed approbation of the King and the people of Great Britain. They saw that Commissioners were to be appointed to hear and redress the grievances of the disaffected colonies, while the King and the Ministers were alike careless of the wishes, heedless of the wants, and deaf to the repeated complaints of the people of Ireland.

At length the necessities of the country induced the Lord Lieutenant to make a representation to Lord North, on the state of her distress; and he addressed the following letters to the English minister on the subject of the trade and the defence of the kingdom. The sentiments and expressions here used, were those introduced afterwards into the King's speech, and were subsequently productive of more beneficial results than the mere formalities of an address, and the reception of a reply; but it was owing to the strenuous exertions of the people, that these important objects were achieved, and in opposition to the efforts made

by the Government to arrest the progress of the volunteers and discourage the proceedings which they adopted in order to restore the trade and recover the liberties of their native country.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.*

Dublin Castle, March 20, 1778.

My Lord,

In consequence of the very kind disposition expressed by both Houses of Parliament in Great Britain towards this kingdom, at this critical juncture, which have been received here with the utmost satisfaction and gratitude, I have been pressed by many of his Majesty's principal servants, and other gentlemen, who have uniformly and steadily supported his Majesty's measures in Parliament, to lay before your lordship their humble hope that the present situation of affairs may afford an opportunity of improving those favourable dispositions into some real benefits for this country.

As they apprehend, that the Act lately passed in Great Britain, for appointing commissioners to treat with the colonies, and the present state of the British empire, must soon bring on the consideration of the whole system of British commerce, they have thought it incumbent upon them to represent it to me as their true sentiments, concurring with those of the public, that this would be a proper time for me to solicit your lordship's favour, and to submit to you their earnest request, that whatever privileges or advantages in trade shall be granted to the colonies, if the conciliatory plan shall take effect, may be extended to Ire-

* Lord North was first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

land; and that the colonies may not in any respect be put upon a better footing than Ireland.

In different conversations, which have passed between me and some of the ablest men here concerning the trade of this kingdom, I have been thoroughly convinced that an enlargement of it in many instances is become absolutely necessary for its support, as well to enable it to answer the many drains to which it is annually subject, particularly to Great Britain, as to make provision for the expenses of his Majesty's Government, which of late years have increased to a considerable amount. And I am persuaded that the wealth and advantages proceeding from such enlargement of their trade would not only redound to the benefit of Great Britain, but that in return his Majesty may expect the utmost effort of his subjects in this kingdom in support of his government, and for the general service of the British empire. I have therefore made no difficulty in complying with their request, that I would represent this state, as the general sense of the country, to your lordship, in order that when any system of commerce shall be agitated, such steps may be taken with respect to the trade of Ireland, as shall appear to be most for the benefit of the two kingdoms.

I cannot entertain a doubt of your Lordship's readiness to promote such a solid advantage to this country; and in justice to it I must declare, that the steadiness of all persons of any rank to co-operate in every measure which can at this crisis conduce to the maintenance of the dignity of Great Britain, and their zeal and attachment to his Majesty and his Government, very fully entitle them to all the assistance which can be given them by his Majesty's ministers, and to every mark of favour that can be granted them by the British Parliament. Your Lordship will therefore permit

me to recommend this measure in the strongest manner to your support.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.*

Dublin Castle, 21st April, 1778.

MY LORD,

Your lordship will receive by this messenger twenty Bills which have passed the Council. I inclose a list of them herewith, and as there is nothing extraordinary in any of them, which is not explained in the letters accompanying them from the Privy Council, except the Militia Bill, I have only to recommend them to your lordship's protection, and to lay before you some observations upon that Bill. Your lordship will find that this bill differs very little from one that was transmitted and rejected in the latter end of Lord Harcourt's administration. That Bill was opposed at the time, as not being then necessary, as being very expensive, and the gentlemen of the army alleged it would clash with the military; but when the Bill now transmitted was under consideration in the House of Commons, those objections were not revived. It passed without opposition, a militia or some force besides that of the army being thought by the gentlemen of this country absolutely necessary in those counties, particularly in the north, from which the regular forces are intended to be withdrawn. But when it came into council, by much the greater number of Lords were of opinion that it would not answer the good purposes for which it was formed. In the southern parts the number of Protestants is so inconsiderble, that it would be difficult to form a militia, and the troops

* Lord Weymouth was Secretary of State for the Home Department.

being stationed in those parts, there cannot be much occasion for it; and the use intended by a militia in the north being the preservation of the peace and good order amongst the lower ranks of people, lest, during the absence of his majesty's forces, that opposition to the payment of rents, tithes, and assessments, which prevailed so strongly in some of the northern counties some years ago, might again be revived, it seemed to be the opinion of several of the lords who declined signing the Bill, that as the militia would be composed of that body of the people which may be suspected of being inclined to enter into such riots, there could be no dependence upon their acting in the suppression of them.

They also thought that discipline could not be kept up by the mode of fining prescribed in the Bill, and that the service proposed might be more effectually executed, by raising in such particular counties as shall be thought fitting, a certain number of independent companies.

I must observe to your lordship, that a clause was introduced into this Militia Bill, when before the Committee of the House of Commons to which it was referred, authorising the Chief Governor of Ireland to raise independent companies; and, in general, the gentlemen of the House of Commons showed a disposition to be satisfied, either with the militia or with independent companies.

The clause was not omitted from any preference to a militia, but upon a suggestion of its being improper, upon the ground that his Majesty might, by his prerogative, in times of danger, raise independent companies without any enabling authority from parliament. But the question respecting his Majesty's prerogative was not debated.

Several gentlemen of considerable property declared in the House of Commons, that they would, if authorised, raise without loss of time independent companies, formed

out of their respective tenantries, of men upon whom they could depend; and those Lords of Council who declined signing this Bill, seemed of opinion that companies so formed are much better to be relied upon than a militia.

As I think it incumbent upon me to submit my thoughts upon these points, to the consideration of his Majesty and his Council, I beg leave to offer it as my humble opinion, that, if his Majesty shall think it expedient, and it shall be deemed legal, to authorise me in such manner, and with such limitations, as his Majesty shall judge proper, to raise independent companies in the different counties in this kingdom, where they may be of public utility upon the present occasion, it will be a measure very proper to be adopted, and preferable to the establishment of a militia, as proposed to be constituted by the present Bill; and if his Majesty, with the advice of his Council, shall be of that opinion, and a signification of his Majesty's commands, under his Majesty's sign manual, for raising such independent companies, shall be sent to me, it will remain for the consideration of his Majesty, whether there will be occasion for passing the Militia Bill into a law. If, however, his Majesty shall approve of its being passed, I would recommend that the continuance shall be for two years only.

If his Majesty shall determine to raise independent companies, I should wish to receive his commands as soon as may be convenient.

I must inform your Lordship, that should the Militia Bill be passed into a law, and be carried into execution by raising companies of a hundred private men each, the expence of clothing, accoutrements, and pay, provided by the Act, exclusive of ammunition, as also of arms, there being a sufficient number of militia arms in store, would amount for two years to about 850*l.* for each company; and the

charge, therefore, for forty companies, consisting together (commission and non-commission officers included) of 4520 men, would amount, for the two years, to about 34,000*l.* The scheme laid down in the clause for raising independent companies, which was introduced into the Militia Bill, and, as I have mentioned, rejected, was formed for the support of these companies, upon pay throughout the year, equal to that of his Majesty's army, with a view that they should co-operate and serve jointly with the army; and the expense for pay for a company of a hundred men, would, in the two years, amount to 3577*l.*, and for forty companies, making 4520 men, to 143,080*l.*, exclusive of arms and appointments. But, I apprehend, unless there should be a necessity, on account of an invasion, by the landing of a considerable body of men, to draw out these independent companies from their respective counties, to the assistance of the army, there will be no occasion to consider them in any other light, than as raised for the preservation of the peace in their respective counties, against any riots or disorders which might arise therein; and, therefore, that the same provision and pay, which have been intended for a Militia, may be sufficient for such independent companies as will be wanted; and I should likewise imagine, that the number need not extend so far as I have stated; but, if his Majesty and his Council shall disapprove both of a Militia, and raising these independent companies, and thereupon reject both schemes, I humbly request, that, as it will be a great disappointment, I may be furnished with the reasons and motives for rejecting them, in order that they may be explained; it being the general sense of the House of Commons, and of the Lords of the Council, that either a Militia, or independent companies, would, in case of invasion, or the apprehension

of it, be absolutely necessary for the internal security of the country.

In my letter to Lord North, dated the 6th instant, I observed to his Lordship, that the British Act of Parliament of the 8th of his present Majesty, c. 13, allows for the Irish Establishment 15,235 men in time of peace, notwithstanding the Act of the 10th Wm. III. c. 1; and I submitted it to his Lordship, to consider, whether it will not be proper that an Act should be now passed in Great Britain, enabling his Majesty to make such addition to his Majesty's Establishment of his Forces in Ireland, as his Majesty shall judge to be necessary on the present emergency, or some Resolution of the Houses of Parliament in England. I observe, by the Votes of the House of Commons in England, of the 23rd of March, 1756, upon a message from his Majesty, informing the House of an intended invasion by France on Great Britain and Ireland, the Commons desired his Majesty to augment his Forces in Ireland, if he thought fit. Whether this was necessary to such augmentation, I submit to your Lordship's consideration; and I conceive, that the words I proposed are so general,—being to enable his Majesty to make such addition to his Forces in Ireland as he shall judge to be necessary,—will comprehend any addition by the independent companies now proposed, as well as the exceeding in his Majesty's regular Forces, over and above the number established by the Act of the 8th of his present Majesty.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, April 22, 1778.

MY LORD,

By this morning's tide, a messenger was dispatched from hence to Lord Weymouth, with twenty Bills which had passed the Council here, of which number, one is for the establishment of a Militia in this kingdom.

As it was a matter of doubt in the House of Commons, whether a Militia or Independent Companies would be best adapted to the internal service of the country upon the present emergency, I mentioned, in Letters to Lord Gower and Lord Weymouth which accompanied that Bill, that it appeared to me to be the general sense of all degrees of people in Ireland, that it is absolutely necessary, particularly for the protection of those counties from which his Majesty's troops are to be withdrawn, that either a Militia or Independent Companies should be established.

In general, the Gentlemen of the House of Commons would be satisfied with either the one or the other; and it was proposed to add to the Militia Bill, a clause, to enable his Majesty to raise Independent Companies, not with a view to establish both, but that his Majesty might have the election of either. But this clause was rejected, upon a suggestion, that his Majesty might raise Independent Companies by his prerogative. The point of right, however, was not debated.

The majority of his Majesty's Privy Council disapproved of this Militia Bill, for reasons stated in my said letters, but are inclined to the raising Independent Companies. Your Lordship will find, in those Letters, that I inclined, in my opinion, in favour of Independent Companies, if

there be no legal objection to their being established by his Majesty's authority, upon a supposition, however, that the expense may be brought within the same compass as that of a Militia.

As the Speaker of this House of Commons is now in London, and is not only an exceeding good judge of the propriety or impropriety of these different measures, but is thoroughly acquainted with the opinions of the gentlemen of the country upon them, it would be of material service if your Lordship could spare time to have some conversation with him upon this subject. The legality of his Majesty's raising Independent Companies is the first point; and if any doubt arises upon that head, I should wish that, by your Lordship's desire, Mr. Pery may confer with his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General in London upon it. If that difficulty be removed, Mr. Pery will give his opinion, whether the expense of Independent Companies may not be confined to the same allowances proposed in the Bill for a Militia, and he will also say, whether any further difficulties occur to him.

I would submit it, and it is the principal ground of this application to your Lordship, whether it will not be advisable, in all events, to pass the Militia Bill, in order, that if such difficulties should arise, though not now foreseen, as may stop the raising of Independent Companies, his Majesty's Government here may be enabled to form some body of Militia in those parts where, as it is understood, it is absolutely necessary; and, in that case, the best care that can be must be taken, to raise them in such a manner as will best avoid those objections upon which some of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council declined giving their assent to the Bill.

As this is a matter of the greatest consequence at this time, I am particularly anxious, that your Lordship should

see Mr. Pery upon it, before he leaves London, which I have just learnt he proposes to do, upon the 26th instant. I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

The official letters that immediately follow, present a singular state of things, detrimental to Ireland, disgraceful to England, and confirming the statements and complaints made by Mr. Grattan and the popular party in the House of Commons; over and over again, but in vain, they had expostulated with the Minister, and implored his attention to the declining state of Ireland, her fisheries, her trade and her manufactures; yet Lord North had denied the correctness of the charges, and had remained inexorable. But after this long lapse of time, the evidence comes to light, which discovers at once the falsehood, the hypocrisy, and the culpable indifference of this Minister, and proves him deaf to every sense of justice, and careless of any regard to truth; for it was about this period, that in his place in Parliament he declared, that "*every thing was a scene of festivity in Ireland.*" The answer to this humorous sally will appear in the following communications, in one of which the Lord Lieutenant informs him, that the trade of Ireland had declined; that the manufacture of linen (the only one left) could not meet with any sale; and that the chief branches of trade, by which the civil

and military officers of Government were supported, had not only decayed, but their future welfare was endangered. In a subsequent letter he alludes to the discontent of the people; and, in order to preserve the peace of Ireland, he resorts to the old system of all bad governments, —the reckoning up the number of troops he could bring into the field; and finding them not only inadequate but expensive, he suggests that the Militia should be called out, or that Independent Companies should be formed—the less expensive of the two;—but as for these some funds were absolutely necessary, he casts his eyes very naturally to his treasury, and on enquiry there, he writes, on the 30th of April, that "*it was in a miserable state*"—so much so, that he is compelled to resort to a most humiliating measure, and actually to borrow 20,000*l.* from a private house. The bank of Messrs. La Touche not only upheld the shattered credit of Government, but prevented the dissolution of the State! Who could have believed, if the letters of the Viceroy had not proved it, that the king of Great Britain, like a poor debtor, or an idle spendthrift, would have been obliged to apply at a private gentleman's house, and ask for a loan of money, in order that he might be enabled to carry on the semblance of Government, and keep up the insolent mockery of these "desperate political gamblers," as Mr. Flood called them, who first squandered the

revenues of the State, and then left her defenceless; and this, as afterwards appeared, not with a view to remedy abuses, but to confirm them; not to extend the trade of Ireland, but to uphold the principle of the embargo; not to procure markets for her manufacture, but to discourage the consumption of all native manufactures, and get her people *not* to wear Irish clothing at the very time when Irish artisans were starving by thousands! Will after-ages credit these astounding facts? and would not the assertion be denied, if the irrefragable evidence of these letters did not bring home the proof of "*high crimes* and misdemeanors," and justify Ireland in recording, as she must, the solemn verdict of guilty? It is in vain that kings or ministers strive to conceal their offences or their crimes, and think they can efface every mark of mischief and every vestige of iniquity; though buried for ages, like the blood of the murdered man, they will yet arise, and call to Heaven for justice, if not for vengeance.

In the letter of the 16th of May, the Lord Lieutenant discloses the progress of the Bankruptcy, and its necessary consequences, namely, that he was obliged to *stop payment;* accordingly, he suspended all salaries, all pensions, all civil—all military—all parliamentary grants; all clothing arrears, and all ordinary payments; and, in addition, those in the Barrack and in the Ordnance

department, which were held by contract, and used to be punctually paid. He states that he was obliged to resort to these "*extraordinary measures*," to enable him to encamp the army. He sends Mr. Clements, (who was at the head of the Treasury,) express to Lord North, to London, to procure assistance, and is again obliged to go to Messrs. La Touche to beg another 20,000*l.* The bankers, not without surprise that his Majesty, George the Third, should be so ill provided,* learning that he had no money left in Ireland, and could not afford to send any from England, very prudently, and like sensible men of business, "*returned for answer, that it was not in their power, though very much in their inclination;*" that they could not lend a second 20,000*l.*; and thus

* That some money was then due to Ireland, and should in this time of need have been forthcoming, will appear from the following circumstance:—The regiments on the Irish establishment were paid in Irish money; when sent abroad they received English money; the difference of currency, which amounted to 5000*l.* a-year, was charged against Ireland, and, not being perceived, was permitted to run on "*for a long series of years.*" At length it was discovered by Mr. Barry, a member of the Irish Parliament, and he stated the circumstance to Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War in England, but in so compliant and tame a manner, that he merely said *he did not desire any retrospect, but only hoped that the expense would in future be removed.* What was done in the matter does not appear; but if these sums, accumulating for a long series of years, had been refunded, as in justice they should, the Viceroy need not have gone to Messrs. La Touche to borrow money. Junius very justly says, "The people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed." See Lord Buckingham's Letter to Lord North, 11th June, 1777.

the King, the Viceroy, and the country, were left to extricate themselves out of this dilemma as well as they could.

The immediate consequence was, that the march of the troops was stopped, and the encampment did not take place. The people, however, did not remain passive spectators of national ruin and disgrace; they had recourse to the advice of their Parliamentary supporters, and, under their guidance, they took up a position, on the side of their country, from which (as will shortly appear) they could neither be seduced, or driven, or terrified.

Such is the sketch exhibited in the official papers here inserted. Could it then be wondered, that the Irish people were dissatisfied, when they found that the government of centuries had produced nothing but disgrace, beggary, royal neglect and ministerial obstinacy, insult and injustice? Could Lord North have mentioned any country, in ancient or modern history, worse governed, or have pointed out a worse minister than himself? Justly then did Mr. Grattan remark, that to save America was, to Lord North, impossible; he might have added, how possible it was for him to lose Ireland. What an excellent lesson this history will be to future governors!—and let them, for a moment, hear what a description the poet Spenser gives of this nation, which

they were in duty and interest bound to preserve to the crown of the realm. He says,—

"And sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish, most abundantly sprinkled with many very sweet islands and goodly lakes, like *little inland seas that will carry even ships upon their waters;* adorned with goodly woods, even fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously, as that if some *princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas,* and ere long of all the world: also full of very good *ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that country can afford;* besides, the soil itself most fertile, fit to yield all kind of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the parts towards the west."

Spenser makes a further remark which (though in a quaint poetic strain) is not inappropriate in the present, any more than in past times. He writes:—

"It is the fatal destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are most for her good, will prosper or take effect: whether it proceed from the very genius of her soil, or influence of the stars, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that he reserveth her

in this unquiet state still, *for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England*, it is hard to be known, yet much to be feared."

The question here put by the poet, and at this time to be considered by Ireland, is, what was for the country's good?—and in general the people are the best judges of what best suits them; at least the subsequent events will go far to establish this political problem.

LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, April 22, 1778.

My Lord,

By the 3rd section of the British Act of Parliament, of the 15th of his present Majesty, chap. 31, intituled, "An Act for the Encouragement of the Fisheries carried on from Great Britain, Ireland, and the British dominions in Europe; and for securing the return of the fishermen, sailors, and others employed in the said fisheries, to the Ports thereof, at the end of the fishing season;" such vessels employed in carrying on the whale fishery, on the coasts of Newfoundland, and the seas adjacent, as shall appear to be British built, and owned by his Majesty's subjects residing in Ireland, and which shall be fitted and cleared out from some Port in Ireland, are equally entitled to, and put upon the same footing, with respect to the bounties allowed by that Act, with such vessels as shall be fitted out from Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man, for carrying on those fisheries. And by the 21st section of the same Act, the like bounties, which are granted by the British Act of the 11th of his present Majesty, intituled, "An Act for the better support and establishment of the Greenland and Whale Fishery, to

ships fitted out from Great Britain, or any of his Majesty's dominions in America, for those fisheries, are granted to ships fitted out for that purpose from the kingdom of Ireland, every ship or vessel being British built, and owned by his Majesty's subjects of Ireland.

The Parliament of this kingdom, in their Addresses to his Majesty, in October, 1775, testified the sense of the advantages which must arise to the navigation and trade of Ireland by this Act, which extends the great benefits of British Fisheries to Ireland, and which has been the source of wealth and industry to other nations. But I am sorry to acquaint your Lordship, that, according to representations which have been made to me, from persons of knowledge and authority residing here, the benefits held out by the former part of the Act to this kingdom, are in a great measure defeated by a proviso in the 30th section thereof, by which it is enacted, that no bounty shall be allowed or paid for any ship or vessel so employed, either by virtue of this, or any former Act of Parliament, unless *the whole and entire property of such ship or vessel shall belong to some of his Majesty's subjects residing in that part of his Majesty's dominions from which such ship or vessel shall be respectively fitted and cleared out;* and which restraining proviso is repealed in an Act of the 16th of his present Majesty, chap. 47, intituled, "An Act for the further encouragement of the Whale Fishery, carried on from Great Britain and Ireland, and the British dominions in Europe, and for regulating the fees to be taken by the Officers of the Customs in the island of Newfoundland." For the gentlemen of this country allege, that almost the whole of the Irish trade being carried on with British money and in British ships, the only means by which Ireland could have shared in these bounties, must have been by being concerned in joint adventures with the people of

Great Britain. The ships must be British, and the owners advance part of the money for defraying the expences of fitting out: but, by these provisos, there can be no co-partnery between the subjects of the two kingdoms; at least, no bounty can be claimed by either in such circumstances, nor can the inhabitants of Guernsey, Jersey, or the Isle of Man, be joined in partnership with the natives of Great Britain, or with any other than the inhabitants of their respective islands.

It is very probable that this proviso was inserted to prevent the rebellious colonies in America from having shares in these bounties; and if that was the intention, it is apprehended this object might be obtained, so as to exclude the American colonies only, by making it run thus, viz. "That no bounty shall be allowed or paid for any ship or vessel so employed, by virtue of either of the said Acts, or by any former Act of Parliament, unless the whole or entire property of such ship or vessel shall belong to some of his Majesty's subjects residing in Great Britain, Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, or the Isle of Man."

I have also been requested to lay before your Lordship another matter, which it is alleged, would be of very great advantage to the trade of this kingdom, if approved of by your Lordship, as consistent with the trade and welfare of England, and might be inserted in the Act for making the amendment above proposed;—which is this: The House of Commons of this kingdom, in the last session of the last Parliament, voted resolutions for passing an Act for the extension of the Whale Fishery of Ireland, to any of the seas to the southward of the limits of those seas in which the whale fishery is encouraged by an Act passed in Great Britain, in the 11th year of His present Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for the better support and establish-

ment of the Greenland Whale Fisheries, from the 1st of August, 1776, to the 1st August, 1779."

And I understand it is proposed to bring in heads of a Bill this session, to pass here into a law for that purpose, and for granting a bounty of forty shillings per ton, to the masters or owners of such British or Irish ships as shall be fitted out from any port in this kingdom, and proceed upon such whale fisheries, on their landing in this kingdom all such whale-fins, oil, or blubber of whales, seal oil, seal-skins, or other produce of seals, or other fish or creature, as shall be caught by the crews of such ships on such seas. But as the ships to be employed upon this fishery must have occasion to go into the ports of Africa, it is submitted whether a clause allowing the exportation from Ireland to the coast of Africa of any provisions, and also of any hook-lines, netting, or other tools or implements necessary for, and used in the fishery by the crews of the ships or vessels carrying on the same, and the craft belonging to, and employed by such ships or vessels in the said fishery, being the same articles as are allowed to be exported from Ireland to Newfoundland by the 5th and 6th sections of the before-mentioned Act of the 15th of His present Majesty, might not be very proper to be inserted.

And in order to obviate all doubts whether Irish ships, or ships owned or employed by His Majesty's subjects residing in Ireland, are to be considered as British, I would further submit it to your Lordship whether it might not be declared in the same Act, that all such ships are to be entitled to the same privileges with ships belonging to His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain, as if the same were British built.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, 26th April, 1778.

My Lord,

I have the honour of enclosing herewith to your Lordship an address, with three papers annexed, which were delivered to me on Monday last, by a deputation from the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture in this kingdom. It represents the present distressed state of the staple manufactures of this kingdom under their care, and that there had never been at this season of the year, near the quantity of linens as are at present in the Linen Hall for sale, without any apparent demand, although the prices are much reduced, and expresses their apprehensions for the future welfare of that very important manufacture, by which the inhabitants of this kingdom have been, as they represent, hitherto principally enabled to support the several branches of His Majesty's Government, both civil and military.

The principal points which they express their wishes to obtain, are as follows; viz. a continuation of the bounties on the exportation of linens from Great Britain, as well in favour of the natives of Ireland as of Great Britain, and that the same be extended to British and Irish linens, when printed, painted, stained, or dyed. A favourable construction of the words *foreign parts* in the 11th and 12th of Queen Anne, which they presume were never intended to include Ireland. And that the liberty of exportation of Irish linens to the West Indies, &c. by the 3d and 4th of Queen Anne, be extended to checquered, striped, stained, printed, painted, or dyed linens of the manufacture of Ireland, or that some other adequate encouragement may be extended to the manufacture of checquered, striped, stained, painted, printed, and dyed linens of this kingdom. I need

not inform your Lordship the Board of Trustees of the Linen Manufacture consists of persons of the first rank and consequence in this kingdom, who are confident from the many proofs your Lordship has already given of your attention to its welfare, that their application on behalf of this most important branch of the trade and commerce of Ireland will find all the support your Lordship can possibly give it, and I must beg leave to add my recommendation of it to your Lordship's protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, April 29, 1778.

MY LORD,

In consequence of the very interesting information which Lord Weymouth signified to me, by His Majesty's command, in his Lordship's letters of the 18th, I have applied my whole attention in taking such provisional steps as I have judged to be immediately necessary for the safety and tranquillity of Ireland; and having this day transmitted to Lord Weymouth several papers containing the states of His Majesty's Forces, as now upon the military establishment of this kingdom, of the artillery, and of the augmentation proposed to be made to them, together with an estimate of the extraordinary expense, which must necessarily be incurred upon this occasion, I inclose herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of the papers.

Your Lordship will observe by the Paper No. 1, that, including ten companies of invalids, the established numbers

in Ireland is	9882
And serving abroad	3039
In all	12921

And by the Paper No. 2, that, by an addition of two regiments expected from North Britain, and an augmentation proposed to be made to the nine regiments of infantry now in Ireland, the above number will be encreased to 14,728 men in Ireland, and to 17,727 upon the establishment. Some addition will also be made by more invalid companies, but the number cannot be yet ascertained.

The British Act of Parliament of the 8th of his present Majesty, c. 13, allows for the Irish establishment 15,235 men in time of peace, notwithstanding the act of the 10th William III. c. 1. But your Lordship will be pleased to consider, whether it will not be proper, that an Act should now be passed in Great Britain, enabling His Majesty to make such additions to His Majesty's establishment of his forces in Ireland, as His Majesty shall judge to be necessary on the present emergency, or some resolution of the Houses of Parliament in England. I observe by the votes of the House of Commons in England, of the 23rd of March, 1756, upon a message from His Majesty, informing that House of an intended invasion by France on Great Britain and Ireland, the Commons desired His Majesty to augment his forces in Ireland if he thought fit: whether this was necessary to such augmentation I submit to your Lordship's consideration.

I should have wished to have enlarged the number of forces to serve in Ireland, but your Lordship will see by the Paper No. 4, that the estimate of what is already proposed, exclusive of many contingent charges, which cannot be particularized, amounts to upwards of two hundred and ninety-eight thousand pounds; and though I have found an unanimous desire to contribute in the most liberal manner upon this occasion, it is agreed on all hands, that to raise a larger sum than three hundred thousand pounds is not practicable. The subscriptions to the loan of 166,000*l*

granted this session for payment of the arrears on His Majesty's establishments, amount to very little more than one-half of the sum granted; and those who have demands of any considerable amount, are obliged to receive in payment the debenture issued for the loan, and sell them at a discount of near three per cent.

For the above reasons, it was thought to be most advisable that the three hundred thousand pounds now to be advanced should be raised by one or more tontines, upon the same terms as were given upon our last tontine of 1776. It is hoped the money will be raised: but it was the general opinion, that if a larger sum should be required, it would not succeed, and that it would throw a difficulty upon the whole. The sum therefore applied for was only 300,000*l*, which was cheerfully granted; and as I have complied with the advice of the servants of the crown to have but one tontine, I hope it will be all subscribed.

There are at present before the Privy Council heads of a Bill for a new Militia Act, the old Act being expired. The scheme is, that after the arrays shall be taken, such numbers as Government shall think proper in each county, shall be formed into independent companies, to continue until Midsummer, 1782, and to the end of the then next Session of Parliament. This is a very popular and favourite plan, and it is thought may be particularly useful in preserving the internal quiet of this kingdom, in parts from whence it may be necessary to withdraw the army.

This Bill leaves it to Government to decide what number of militia shall be raised in each county, there not being less than a hundred, nor more than five hundred men, in any county, except in Dublin, Cork, or Limerick. I do not yet know to what number it is wished the militia should in the whole extend; but supposing it to be 6,000, it is computed that the expense for certain proportions of

clothing and pay, will for two years amount to twenty-seven thousand pounds.

I should think myself very much wanting in the return due to the House of Commons, if I did not represent that upon this occasion there has been a spirit and zeal for the support of His Majesty's Government, and for the public service, which could not be testified in a manner more honourable to themselves, or more satisfactory to His Majesty.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, April 30, 1778.

MY LORD,

It is with great concern that I am reduced to the necessity of laying before your Lordship the *miserable state* of His Majesty's Treasury here.

No subscriptions have been received on account of the loan for some time past, and those who have subscribed, and have occasion to raise money, can get no more than 90*l.* for each subscription of 100*l.* and as yet the subscriptions to the new tontine do not amount to more than 10,000*l.*; the first payment thereof being 10 per cent., has produced but 1,000*l.*

I have been therefore obliged, in order to provide for the several military services now going forward in this kingdom, not only to stop all payments at the Treasury, that can be postponed, but to cause the sum of 20,000*l.* to be taken up at interest, from Messrs. La Touche, the principal bankers here. That sum is entirely exhausted, and there being a general distress for money throughout all ranks in the city, *no balance in the Treasury*, and scarcely any in

the hands of the several collectors, and the receipt of His Majesty's revenue having fallen lower than has been known for many years, there neither is, nor can I expect there will be, a fund, arising, or that can be created, in this kingdom, to answer those large demands which, if not discharged, will put a stop to our military operations.

I have received an alarm that the Tontine scheme, which we expected would quickly fill in London, is not likely to be so successful as we imagined; nor, if it should succeed, will the payments upon it become due so speedily as our wants require.

I shall this day direct Mr. Heron to write to Messrs. Brown and Collinson, desiring them to attend your Lordship and inform you what subscriptions they have received, what prospects they have of further subscriptions, and to what amount they can make an immediate remittance;—because, if we cannot have an immediate supply from them of 50,000*l.* at least, we have no resource but in your Lordship, that, upon the credit of the tontine, the sum of 50,000*l.* or, if possible, 100,000*l.* may be raised, and forthwith remitted to His Majesty's Deputy Vice-Treasurer here. If the money can be had, probably a large part of it might be remitted by bills; but, if there should be difficulty in that respect, the cash must be brought over in specie, in like manner as was done when the gold was exchanged.

Your Lordship may be assured I would not make this *extraordinary application to you*, if I could see any possibility of proceeding without it.

But it is most evident that if a supply—and that considerable, as I have stated—is not sent to us without loss of time, these preparations, so absolutely necessary for the defence of the kingdom, must be obstructed in such a manner, that *it cannot be said how fatal the consequences may be.*

And I hope their necessity will excuse my proposing a measure, which may be attended with difficulty and inconvenience.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, May 1, 1778.

MY LORD,

The Speaker of this House of Commons, fearing that some delay might prevent his appearing at the House next Monday, could not venture to remain in London to attend your Lordship, as I had desired, and returned here on Wednesday last.

He has recommended it in the strongest manner that the Militia Bill may be passed and returned to us, having apprehensions that however incontestible the power of the crown may be, there may be difficulties with respect to the raising of independent companies. He has also recommended, if it should appear to be necessary, a clause to be inserted in the bill, relative to the granting militia commissions to Presbyterians; but having written at large to Lord Gower and Lord Weymouth, upon these matters proposed by the Speaker, my referring your Lordship to those letters may save trouble. I have, therefore, only to acquaint your Lordship that, for the reasons mentioned to you in my letter of the 22d past, as well as those now suggested by the Speaker, I am very earnest the bills shall be returned, with the alterations proposed by the Speaker.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle May 16, 1778.

My Lord,

In my letter to your Lordship of the 31st past, I informed your Lordship of the very distressed state of His Majesty's Treasury here; the certainty that no more can be raised on account of the loan of 166,000*l.*, and our great disappointment in respect to the tontine. And I also mentioned that His Majesty's revenue had fallen so considerably, that I saw no ground to expect a fund could be created in this kingdom for those very large demands, which, if not provided for immediately, must put a stop to our military operations. I have since not only continued the suspension of all salaries and pensions, civil and military, Parliamentary grants, clothing, arrears, &c. of all other ordinary payments, but have been obliged to hold back those upon contract in the Barrack and Ordnance department, which used to be punctually discharged. By these extraordinary means, I have been hitherto enabled to order the necessary advances for such things as were thought requisite to be immediately provided, preparatory to the encampment. The great demands of the Ordnance upon the movement of the artillery and stores, are now come in; and, upon a view of the whole, I am doubtful whether it will be prudent to suffer the troops to take the field, until there shall be some fund in the Treasury for that purpose.

In my last letter to Lord Weymouth, I acquainted him, for His Majesty's information, that I proposed to encamp the infantry the second week in June, and the cavalry the second week in July; the latter earlier, if His Majesty should think proper to direct it. I then flattered myself we should receive some immediate assistance, either upon subscriptions to the tontine, or by a loan formed upon it,

as proposed in my letter to your Lordship. Not receiving any intimation to encourage that latter expectation, and subscriptions failing, almost totally, I am alarmed to the greatest degree. In this dilemma, I should naturally have recourse to the House of Commons to offer terms more advantageous to subscribers, which would have been proposed at first, if the eagerness of subscribers upon the tontine of last Session of Parliament had not induced gentlemen to believe that the terms now proposed, which are more advantageous to the subscribers in some particulars than those of the last Session, would be immediately accepted; and now that those expectations are vanished, the House of Commons have nothing before them to show what additional rate of annuity would procure the money.

And therefore they could not by any resolution offer such an interest as would ensure it, without endangering their offering higher terms than may be necessary. Upon these considerations, I am advised, and concur in the opinion, that the most ready and secure method to transact this business is to send a proper person to London; and Mr. Clements being at the head of the Treasury, has offered himself to undertake the office.

He will attend your Lordship immediately upon his arrival in London, and your Lordship will be pleased to inform him what steps have been taken, and with what effect, in consequence of my letter to your Lordship upon this important subject, and I must make it my earnest request that your Lordship will not only give him your best advice, but the fullest assistance in your power, to relieve this kingdom from its present very great distress.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, May 16, 1778.

My Lord,

In my letter to your Lordship of the 14th inst., I acquainted you, for his Majesty's information, that I proposed to encamp the infantry the second week in June, and the cavalry the second week in July, the latter earlier, if his Majesty should think proper to direct it.

I then flattered myself we should receive some immediate assistance, either by subscriptions to the tontine, or by a loan in London, which I had proposed to be formed upon it. Not finding my expectations likely to be answered, and it being necessary that the terms proposed by the Parliament, which they thought amply sufficient for the purpose, should be enlarged; yet not knowing to what extent it is necessary to enlarge them, as the money cannot be had in this kingdom; I am obliged to send Mr. Clements, the Deputy Vice Treasurer, who will deliver this letter to your Lordship, to London with a letter from me to Lord North, desiring his Lordship's assistance, and with directions to procure and transmit to me the fullest information of the mode and terms upon which the money can be raised, in order to be laid before the House of Commons.

In the mean time I am sorry to acquaint your Lordship I entertain some doubt whether it will be prudent to encamp the forces until we can have some security of a better supply than can arise here.

I have, &c.

Buckingham.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Express. *Dublin Castle, 17th May*, 1778.

My Lord,

When I wrote yesterday to your Lordship by Mr. Clements, I mentioned my apprehension that the encampment of the troops cannot take place so early as I had proposed. I have since found further disappointments in respect to money; the bankers to whom I had made application for a further loan of 20,000*l.*, having this morning returned an answer, that the distresses of the public with regard to money are so uncommonly great, that it is not in their power, though very much in their inclination, to give that assistance to Government that they would do at another time. I am therefore reduced to the necessity of stopping the movement of the troops, until further order.

I shall wait with very anxious expectation for the event of Mr. Clements's negociation, and your Lordship will understand that proceedings of every sort depend upon it, the sources within this kingdom being most evidently insufficient; so that unless a supply can be obtained from England, it will be absolutely impossible to carry forward those preparations which are absolutely necessary for the defence of Ireland in case of any attack.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Buckingham.

CHAPTER XV.

Concession to the Catholics.—Interesting debates on the Bill.—Claims of the Presbyterians.—Mr. Pery's exertions against the Embargo.—Remonstrance on the Embargo, by the chief Merchants of Ireland.—Treatment of Ireland in the English Parliament.—Paucity of relief afforded her.—Nations the best judges of their rights.—Matters approach a Crisis.—Danger of Invasion.—The Volunteers formed.—Fears of the Government.—Representations of the Lord Lieutenant on the subject.—Causes of the distresses.—Rise of Rents and Absenteeism.—Failure of Credit.—Alarm of Invasion.—Clanricarde Volunteers.—Alarm of Government.—Discouragement of the Volunteers.—Temporising policy of Government.

An enumeration of the laws that at this time oppressed the Roman Catholics would be tedious and uninteresting; suffice it to say, that they were in every essential point debarred from the rights and privileges of men and of subjects. The enjoyment of property, the free exercise of their religion, the attainment of office, and the benefits of education, were in every respect denied them; they were, in fact, reduced to a state in which they were mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. The extent of their degradation may be judged of from this circumstance, that for nearly 100 years

they submitted to exclusion from the legislature, though it was not enacted by any Irish statute, but grounded simply on a Resolution of the House of Commons which was not law, and afterwards on an English Act of Parliament which was usurpation, and of no other force in Ireland than that derived from voluntary acquiescence.

They were now, at length, beginning to emerge from this abject state; and the relief afforded to them at this period will appear from the following despatch of the government:—the account of the presbyterian clause, by which it was sought to throw out the Bill, will show the spirit of the times, and the difficulties to be encountered.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, 20th June, 1778.

MY LORD,

This day the heads of the Bill for the Relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom, and for other purposes therein mentioned, passed the House of Commons, having been considerably varied from the heads of the Bill originally introduced.

A general inclination had been expressed to give relief to the Roman Catholics; but a variety of opinions, both as to the mode, and as to the extent, occasioned debates in the Committee no less than three days, until very late each day. The first proposition was calculated to allow the Roman Catholics to purchase estates of inheritance, and that such estates, and also those now in their possession, should descend without gavelling, being their great object, and that they should be enabled to dispose of the same by

will, or otherwise, for ever. This point was the subject of the first day's debate, which, having continued until past one o'clock after midnight, and it having been proposed, as a compromise, that in lieu of an inheritance, Papists should be allowed to take leases for 999 years,—it was determined in the committee, in favour of the amendment, by a majority of three, the numbers being 111 to 108. This majority encouraged the opposers to the Bill to expect the like success in such other alterations as they should judge proper, and wishing therefore to proceed, it was by a majority of three only that an adjournment was carried. At their next meeting, on Thursday last, it was agreed, that the estates now in the possession of Papists should descend without gavel.

The opposers to the Bill then moved, with respect to the power which had been given to Papists of taking leases for 999 years, that each lease should be subject to a rent of one-third of the real value; afterwards to other propositions of value; which were rejected; and it was settled, that a rent in money should be reserved, but no proportion being specified, the rent may be sixpence or less.

The other proposition was to confine these leases to demises in possession, not in reversion, to prevent the Roman Catholics from becoming possessed of estates which had any freeholders upon them. This was also rejected, and the debates upon these two points having lasted till near three o'clock in the morning, the House adjourned. At three o'clock yesterday the committee proceeded, and after many hours' debate, agreed to a repeal of that part of the 2nd of Queen Anne, enabling the son and heir of a Popish parent, by conforming to the Church of Ireland, to render his father tenant for life, vesting in himself a reversion in fee.

On Monday last, a motion was made for liberty for this committee to receive a clause for the relief of the Protestant Dissenters, with a view to a repeal of the Test Act; and though it was resolved to oppose the liberty to receive this clause, yet it was so strongly urged by many, even by some of the servants of the Crown, that the refusing to take that clause into consideration, along with the relaxations intended in favour of the other body of the people, would be deemed by the Presbyterians as a high aggravation of their grievance, that the motion was suffered to pass; and by what has since appeared, it would not have been in the power of Government to have prevented it being introduced.

This clause being last to be considered, was not proposed until near two o'clock this morning. Numbers of the friends of Government were inclined to favour the Presbyterians upon this occasion; others stood connected with them in such a manner, that they could not oppose them without manifest injury to their particular interests; and Lord Shannon, Lord Ely, and the whole body of those who opposed the parts of the Bill in favour of the Roman Catholics, were strenuous for passing the clause, as a clog upon the whole of the Bill.

It was, therefore, apparent, that it would be impossible to reject it; however, a trial was made, by proposing an adjournment, and though it was then past two o'clock in the morning, that motion was rejected by a majority of twenty-nine. The impropriety of forcing this clause into the Bill, and thereby endangering the whole, was fully argued; and upon that ground it was strongly pressed, that the clause should not be received; but that, if desired, a separate Bill should be prepared, and take its fate distinct from the case of the Roman Catholics: but the committee finding the number in favour of the clause con-

siderably greater than that by which the motion for an adjournment had been rejected, insisted upon the question, and carried it by so large a majority, that it was not thought advisable to tell the numbers.

The Bill was reported this day, and will be brought up to me on Monday next. This clause was urged by all the opposers of the Bill, from a belief that the not suffering it to remain would be such a disappointment to the Presbyterians themselves, who have been made to expect it, and have such an effect upon the members connected with them, that by a junction between those members, and the opposers of the rest of the Bill, the expunging of that clause will, upon the return of the remainder of the Bill, occasion its being rejected; and that if the clause should remain, the whole Bill would, upon that account, be rejected in the House of Lords.

I am, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, June 25, 1778.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship will receive by this messenger the Bill for the Relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom, and for other purposes, which was sealed this day in council.

The great consequence of this Bill induces me to dispatch it, without waiting for any other to accompany it, in order that it may be the more speedily taken into consideration by his Majesty and his Privy Council, and that there may be time for transmitting any further information relative thereto, which his Majesty may require. I have only to add, that this Bill did not pass the Council

without opposition. Some Lords of great weight and consequence objected to the whole of the Bill, and others to the clause in favour of the Presbyterians only; but they were not so numerous either in the one or in the other opinion as to divide, or put a question upon either point. I must, however, give it as my opinion, that a much greater number would have appeared against the Presbyterian clause, if they had not conceived that it might be more properly rejected in England than on this side.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, August 10, 1778.

MY LORD,

The Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Subjects of this kingdom, professing the Popish religion, which, after a very long debate, passed the House of Commons on the 4th instant, by 127 to 89, was this day taken into consideration in the House of Lords, where it was also debated for many hours upon the question for commitment, which was carried by a majority of 44 to 28.

This great point being determined, and the Bill for the Advancement of the Trade of this Kingdom having been read a second time to-day, in the House of Commons, scarcely any business remains for either House, and I therefore hope to be able to prorogue the Parliament in the course of this week.

I have, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

Mr. Pery, who was ever vigilant in the cause of his country, and whose speeches from the chair

were so patriotic and so creditable to him, now interposed most actively in her behalf. His private remonstrances, though hitherto disregarded, at length appeared likely to be successful; and he addressed a letter to the Secretary, Sir Richard Heron, on the subject of her trade, and on the embargo which had so much injured it, with a view to procure a relaxation of that severe and oppressive measure. His injunction to secresy, shows how great he considered these wrongs to be, when he dreaded even their disclosure. The communication was forwarded to England by the Irish Secretary, to be submitted to the King, and was considered as fairly representing the distress of the country. His efforts, however, as will be seen hereafter, proved unavailing; and this was one of the main causes that induced him to procure the arming of the volunteers.

SIR R. HERON TO JOHN ROBINSON, ESQ.

Dublin Castle, September 5, 1778.

I send you herewith, by command of my Lord Lieutenant, a letter dated the 2nd instant, which I this day received from the Speaker of the House of Commons of this kingdom, inclosing a paper entitled "Remarks on the Embargo." As the Speaker thinks it absolutely necessary for this country that the information contained in this paper should be conveyed to England through some channel, and that the more privately it is done, in his opinion the better, His Excellency, in deference to his judgment, has directed

it should be transmitted through your hands, to be laid before Lord North. His Excellency is persuaded that the present distress of this kingdom is in general fairly represented, and hopes that if his Majesty and his Ministers shall, in their wisdom, think that any relief can be properly extended to this country, it may become an object of their immediate determination; and it will oblige his Excellency, if you will inform me from time to time what steps are likely to be taken therein.

I have the honour to be,

R. HERON.

R. PERY, ESQ., TO SIR R. HERON.

Limerick, September 2, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

Inclosed I send you a paper this day given to me by the principal merchants here. Though it is very incorrect, it will answer the purpose of information, full as well as if it were polished. I know not how far you may think yourself at liberty to make any representation on this subject; but it is absolutely necessary for this country, that the information should be conveyed to England through some channel. The more privately it is done, in my opinion, the better. You can have no conception of the distress occasioned by what has been already done, and how much it must be increased by a continuance of the present measures. There is nothing which the people here would not submit to without repining, if they thought it necessary for the public service; but they are persuaded that all these measures are calculated for the emolument of a few private individuals; and I must confess that the public proclamations carry too much the appearance of it. As I know how much the minds of the people here are already

exasperated upon the subject, and as I know they will be much more so by a continuance of the same measures, I think it my duty to give you this information, being fully persuaded that you will do every thing in your power to remove the evil, and if you cannot do that, to prevent the consequences of it.

As I have not a copy of the inclosed paper, I must beg you will direct it to be copied for me.

I propose remaining here until the 19th of this month, when I shall return to Dunmore, and in four or five days after to Dublin.

I am, &c.
EDMUND PERY.

REMARKS ON THE EMBARGO.

By the order dated the 25th of October, 1776, all provisions laden on British ships *only* are permitted, on condition of oath and bond of proceeding for some port in Great Britain, or *with convoy* to some one of his Majesty's islands *only*, and to no other.

By an Order dated the 29th May, 1778, all provisions, though laden as above on British ships, shall not proceed until further orders, except by special Order from Council.

By an Order of the 19th June, 1778, is granted a liberty for provisions for our armies and islands under convoy, but not to Great Britain.

By an Order dated the 13th August, 1778, butter is allowed to Great Britain, under numerous difficulties.

In consequence of the first embargo, now near two years subsisting, the merchants of Ireland, in particular those of Dublin and Limerick, have suffered considerably. And on the strictest inquiry, it is found that numbers of them are ruined in their circumstances by this severe embargo of so long a continuance. Conformable to the proclama-

tion, they sent their provisions to the ports of Great Britain, which occasioned such quantities at the English markets, that they became invendible at any price, notwithstanding public auctions were almost daily advertized.

These merchants complain that they have quantities of these provisions still remaining in London, some one year, and some near two years; that they can in London prove by certificates from most of the principal contractors for Government, and from the merchants dealing from London to our islands, that these provisions are now so much perished by being so long in London, that they are totally unfit for either Government or private consumption; that they have wrote to their agents, rather than have their properties thrown into the Thames, to solicit liberty to send those damaged provisions to some neutral port, such as Holland, or the Dutch West Indies, where they may be of some value; but all applications have been refused. One merchant in Limerick is ready to make affidavit that he has in London, of beef and pork, now near two years, what cost him about 6,000*l.*—all his own property—now in a perishing state, and by the long time on hand, is neither fit for Government, or any of our islands.

The port of Cork has not these complaints, as all the victuallers and convoys calling there, give them more frequent opportunities to vend their provision.

The Order of the 13th August, 1778, precluding butter, except to Great Britain only, must be productive of great losses to the farmers of the southern parts of Ireland, where they have great quantities of coarse butter, only suitable to the demand from Germany, Holland, and Portugal, and totally unfit for the English markets. This kind of butter must, therefore, remain on the farmer's hands, and the Bremen and Holland ships that come for it, return home in their ballast, with the loss of their freight.

The Order of the 29th May, still in force, precluding any ships laden with beef or pork to sail, though bound for Great Britain, must be productive of the greatest loss to this kingdom. For under such a long and continued restriction, now at the eve of our slaughtering season, what merchant will venture to deal with the grazier for their great quantity of cattle, which the graziers must actually kill in October and November, and lie under the necessity to sell at the mercy of a very few contractors in the port of Cork? They, also, have great quantities, ordinary and middling cow beef, quite unfit for his Majesty's islands, army, fleet, or garrisons. The consequence attending these continual restrictions, must be fatal to this country, and cause an entire scarcity of money and credit. A Scotch sloop really bound for Port Glasgow, with a quantity of fifty-four barrels butter (of last year), fifty-one barrels common cargo pork, and forty-five barrels very ordinary cow beef, remains at heavy charges at Limerick, by means of embargo, since the 27th June last, now above two months; she is called the Jenny of Glasgow, John Urie, master.

In consequence of the Order of the 29th May, 1778, any provision really intended for any port of Great Britain, cannot have permission, but by special order from Council; the merchant in Ireland, thus applying, must be almost a month in suspense before he can have the determination of his petition, and in that uncertain state will not hire any vessel to freight, and if he should succeed in a licence, possibly may not get a ship to hire at the time such license came to his hands; every such license is attended with an expense of five to six guineas, though but a vessel of forty tons.

It is worth while examining what was done in England in consequence of the distresses of the

sister kingdom in 1778. Lord Nugent stated the distressed condition of Ireland, and advised that the commercial restrictions which affected her should be lessened; and Lords Beauchamp and Newhaven said they would move for a general exportation for that country, with the exception of woollens. Accordingly, in 1779 Lord Newhaven moved for a committee to inquire what trade laws affected Ireland; but this was superseded by the order of the day. He tried again to procure a committee to inquire into the importation of sugar into Ireland from the West Indies; and the objection made to this was, the fear that any indulgence might endanger the sovereignty of England over Ireland. The motion was carried only by a majority of five—47 to 42; and in the succeeding week the motion was lost by a majority of four—62 to 58. It was said that Lord North had come down to the House on purpose to defeat the measure.

In the House of Lords the Marquis of Rockingham, on the 11th of May, had moved an address to his Majesty, for information relative to the trade and manufactures of Ireland; but this was opposed by Lord Weymouth (the Home Secretary), Lord Gower (President of the Council), and others, on the ground that it was dangerous to agree to the claims of Ireland, and that they should not pledge themselves to favour Irish manufactures more than British. The motion being amended,

was agreed to: a similar one was also adopted in the Commons. Nothing, however, was promised or attempted by the ministry; and at length, in June, Lord Shelburne moved an address to inquire what had been done in consequence of their former resolutions upon the subject of Ireland. Lord Weymouth declared they had written to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for papers, which would be produced as soon as they were made out. Lord Camden stated that the promises of England to Ireland had been hundreds of times violated, and she was justly in a ferment. The Duke of Grafton would not admit that Ireland had any grievance to complain of. He said that the manufactures of England should be protected, and that nothing could be done this session. Accordingly the motion was lost by 32 to 61.

Thus did this weak and selfish policy prevail; and thus was the state of Ireland even refused a free and fair consideration.

The whole of the relief intended for Ireland amounted to this: five measures were proposed in the British Parliament for the benefit of Ireland, three of which were scarcely worth mentioning as Bills for redress; and of the other two, one was an Export Bill from Ireland to the plantations, of all her manufactures except woollens; the other, an Import Bill of all plantation produce except tobacco;—that is, an export of any thing but *her* principal manufacture, and an import of every

thing except *their* principal produce. The latter, however, as sugar had not been excepted, was considered too liberal, and was rejected; and the Export Bill passed with a new exception in favour of cotton goods. These five measures were thus reduced to one, with this invidious exception introduced; and possibly, they never would have been noticed if it had not been for the spirit with which they were met in England. The alarm of the British manufacturers, and their anger subsequently vented upon Mr. Burke at the Bristol election, gave to this stinted measure a character for bounty and concession which it did not deserve. It was accordingly held forth to Ireland, in the height of her distress, as a generous gift, to clothe the naked and feed the famishing; and the representatives of a starving community were obliged to struggle through groups of hungry artizans, and approach the Castle of Dublin in an humble address to the throne, belying the poverty of their constituents, and returning thanks for what neither gave them bread nor liberty.

How much better it is for nations to attain their rights by their own exertions than be indebted for them to the niggard bounty of others! The people adopt an intelligible, straightforward, and manly policy; while that effected by ministerial negociation is often crafty, and not seldom delusive. In diplomacy, the minister is sure to have the advantage, and is most likely and best able to deceive.

Such was the case in 1782, when it required all the stern integrity of Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan, to guard the rights of Ireland, and resist the offers and blandishments of the minister;—such was the case in 1785, on the Propositions, when the art and dexterity of Mr. Pitt sought to impose a perpetual and an increasing tribute on the Irish people;—such again, in 1795, when the manœuvres and indirectness of Mr. Pitt, made Lord Fitzwilliam the dupe, and the Catholics the victim;—again, in 1800, when the same minister, (NOW IN FACT THE KING,) dazzling the long-abused sight of the Irish with *the great things they were to get, and the* NOTHINGS *they were to give up*, duped the violent Orangemen, deceived the credulous Catholics, and doomed both parties to afflict and harass the country by their hostility and humiliation.

Matters were now fast approaching to a close. The complaints of the people were disregarded; the distresses of the nation were not relieved; the advice of her ablest men was passed unheeded by. The dangers from without increased; the enemy's fleets threatened the coast; the country was left defenceless, and an invasion being apprehended, the inhabitants of Belfast applied to Government for military aid, and the Secretary, Sir Richard Heron, wrote to the sovereign* of the town, to inform him that a military force was ordered to Belfast, and that the Government very much approved of the spirit of the inhabitants, who had formed them-

* The magistrate so called.

selves into companies for the defence of the town. Thus was the approbation of the Government, indirectly, and from necessity, given to the volunteers.

In the several counties and baronies, the people assembled, and entered into resolutions to raise volunteer corps throughout the country. The county Mayo was convened by the high sheriff, and subscriptions entered into for the purpose, and the command given to Lord Altamont. In Dublin, similar corps were established, and the command given to the Duke of Leinster. In the county of Kilkenny 500 stand of arms were distributed among the volunteers. The barony of Gowran furnished four companies of forty men each. Birr, in the King's county, armed very quickly at their own expense 300 men; the Roman Catholics in the county of Limerick, affording a generous return for the relaxation of the laws against their body, subscribed 800*l.* to raise men for the national defence; and in Drogheda, Dingle, and other parts, they made a tender of their property and services to the Protestant associations which had been formed there for the defence of the kingdom, and the utmost harmony and concord prevailed between both classes.

Meanwhile, Government looked on, unable to restrain, unwilling to promote, and incapable of directing these associations. They sought in every way to discourage them,* and the following

* "This day se'nnight there was ag reat alarm about Ireland, which

letters to the Lord Lieutenant, and his replies, evince their anxiety, and the repugnance felt towards these bodies.

The wretched state of defence in which the country was left, will be seen from the disgraceful avowal of the viceroy, that only sixty troopers could be spared for the protection of the North when the French appeared off that coast. Yet such was the fatuity of Government, that unable, as they admit they were, to afford protection, they were yet unwilling to countenance the volunteers, or enable them to protect themselves. In fact, their inability to relieve the distress, and unwillingness to aid in the defence of the country, amounted to a complete abdication of the duties of a Government; the right to which, according to the principles of the constitution, justly reverted to the people. That right they now proceeded to exercise, and in a manner more creditable to the Irish than could have been expected, and more serviceably and loyally to England than

was far from being all invention, though not absolute insurrection as was said. The case I believe was this:—*the court, in order to break the volunteer army established by the Irish themselves*, endeavoured to persuade a body in Lady Blayney's county of Monaghan to enlist in the militia, which they took indignantly. They said, they had great regard for Lady Blayney and Lord Clermont; but to act under them would be acting under the king, and that was by no means their intention. There have since been motions for inquiries, what steps the ministers have taken to satisfy the Irish; and these they have imprudently rejected; which will not tend to pacification."—Horace Walpole's Letter to the Hon. H. S. Conway, June 5, 1779.

she deserved, after such an accumulation of wrongs heaped upon the country.

So complete an abdication on the part of a Government is rarely to be found in the history of any nation. The remarks of Lord Buckingham on the evils that arose from the absentees, are as justly deserving of notice, as his reprehension of the volunteers is deserving of condemnation.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, April 29, 1779.

My Lord,

I have the honour of inclosing herewith to your Lordship a newspaper printed here yesterday, called the "Hibernian Journal," containing an account of a meeting at the Tholsel of this city, on the 26th instant, of certain persons styling themselves the Aggregate Body of the Citizens of Dublin.

The resolutions which they entered into at that meeting, appeared to me of such dangerous tendency, that I thought it incumbent upon me, the moment I had read them, to send for the Lord Chancellor, Prime Serjeant, and Attorney-General, in order to consider with them what might be proper to be done by Government thereupon. They seemed to doubt from the first how far it might be advisable for Government to take any notice of such a publication; but upon my expressing my apprehensions that the *resolution against importing British goods or wares* which can be manufactured in Ireland, might be followed by the like proceedings in other parts of this kingdom, and create animosities between the two countries, it was settled that my Lord Chancellor should send for the Lord Mayor, and ask his lordship whether the city avowed the resolutions published in their name.

My Lord Chancellor accordingly saw my Lord Mayor this morning, who said that these resolutions were sent up by the Common Council in much stronger terms, which the Board of Aldermen had mitigated, and deemed them of little consequence.

The Chancellor, Prime Serjeant, and Attorney-General were thereupon unanimously of opinion, that any notice which Government could possibly take, either by causing an information to be filed, or by inducing the Privy Council to issue a proclamation, expressing that full disapprobation of these measures which they merit, would have no other effect than making this disagreeable disposition worse.

It concerns me greatly to mention that the discontent of this kingdom seems increasing,—fomented, I apprehend, by French and American emissaries.

The alarms given by some are certainly exaggerated; but still the general appearance is serious. My best endeavours shall be exerted, as far as may depend upon me, to preserve the public tranquillity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

LORD WEYMOUTH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

St. James's, May 7, 1779.

MY LORD,

I have received and laid before the King your Excellency's letter of the 20th of April, inclosing a newspaper which contains an account of a meeting at the Tholsel of the city of Dublin, on the 26th of the same month, of certain persons styling themselves the Aggregate Body of that city.

The resolutions which they have entered into, are certainly of dangerous tendency; but, in the present situation of affairs, and in this moment of heat, any interference might have pernicious effects.

I am, however, to instruct your Excellency to give the most constant attention to every measure that may be entered into, in consequence of these resolutions, and to use every proper means in your power to prevent any further steps being taken, by endeavouring to calm and conciliate the minds of the people, and to influence their leaders, who must be apprised that His Majesty has sought proper means to relieve the distresses of Ireland, the welfare of which is so material an object of his paternal concern.

I am, &c.

WEYMOUTH.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, May 24, 1779.

MY LORD,

I had been assured very lately, that the spirit of the Independent Companies began to subside; that some individuals grew disgusted at the expense; others complained of giving up so much of their time without any pecuniary consideration, and, consequently, that many of those bodies would soon moulder away; but, on the contrary, within these few days, intelligence has reached me, that additional companies are forming; and it has been asserted, that this arises from the insinuations which are daily circulated in the public prints, that the idea of their numbers may conduce to the attainment of political advantages to their country.

As much has been observed in England respecting the forming and the existence of these Companies, your Lordship will permit me to throw together, as concisely as possible, what at different times has occurred to me upon that delicate subject. Upon the receiving official intelligence that the enemy meditated an attack upon the northern parts of Ireland, the inhabitants of Belfast and

Carrickfergus, as *Government could not immediately afford a greater force for their protection than about sixty troopers*, armed themselves, and, by degrees, formed themselves into two or three companies; the spirit diffused itself into different parts of the kingdom, and the numbers became considerable, but in no degree to the amount represented. *Discouragement has, however, been given on my part, as far as might be without offence*, at a crisis when the arm and good-will of every individual might have been wanting for the defence of the State. In the interior and remote parts of Ireland, where Magistrates are scarce, and those few act with reluctance and timidity, the mode of suppressing them would have been difficult and delicate; and, notwithstanding the wisdom and peculiar expediency of the relief given to the Roman Catholics, the Protestants might, with some plausibility, have murmured, if they had not been indulged in arming for their own defence, at the moment when the Legislature was holding out protection to a denomination of men, whom they so long had deemed their inveterate enemies.

Those who arraign this proceeding do not consider, that without this force, the camps would not have been formed, or the interior country must have been abandoned to riot and confusion, and many parts of the coasts left defenceless. It has been alleged, that Government should have appointed persons to command them: any step of that tendency would have more firmly established them; every gentleman would have offered himself, either from political views, or the chance of future emoluments; and the expense of arms, accoutrements, and numberless other contingencies, would immediately have been thrown upon our exhausted treasury. Possibly, such a step might not have been legal, as the military establishment of Ireland, by the 8th George III., is limited to 15,000 and odd men.

By the act of the 1st of William and Mary, c. 1.,

sec. 2., the subjects of Ireland may carry arms for their own defence, suitable to their own condition, and as allowed by law; and it would be a question of nice decision to determine, whether they might not be justified, at a time of declared public danger, in learning the use of them.

The seizing their arms would have been a violent expedient; and the preventing them from assembling without a military force, impracticable; for when the civil magistrate will rarely attempt to seize an offender suspected of the most enormous crimes, and when convicted, convey him to the place of execution without soldiers,—nay, when in many instances, persons cannot be put into possession of their property, nor, being possessed, maintain it, without such assistance,—there is little presumption in asserting, that unless bodies of troops had been universally dispersed, nothing could have been done to effect. My accounts state the number of the corps as not exceeding 8000 men, some without arms, and, in the whole, very few who are liable to a suspicion of disaffection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, May 28, 1779.

MY LORD,

From the instructions with which your Lordship lately favoured me, it is an incumbent duty to state my ideas, however erroneous, respecting the different causes of the distresses of this kingdom; and should they appear superficial, crude, and ill digested, it must be attributed to my wish that they might, in a degree, be understood, whilst as yet the Parliament of Great Britain was assembled.

The great leading mischief is the rise of rents, the whole

of which advance is, in addition to the former remittance, drawn from hence by those persons of property who never reside here. And this circumstance also operates in a degree, with regard to those in general settled in Ireland, who are very much disposed to expend the superfluity of their revenue in foreign countries.

As the gentlemen of Ireland are not more economical than those of England, they have charged their estates with mortgages, the interest of which is, in very few instances, paid here. The interest, also, of the national debt stands in a similar predicament.

To these, when the charge (now, indeed, removed) of the troops upon the Irish establishment serving abroad, the pensions, and the profits of many lucrative offices is added, the aggregate sum will appear enormous, in proportion even to the most exaggerated estimate of the abilities of this kingdom. As individuals are less able to indulge in articles of luxury, and more disposed to use their own manufactures, the revenue must decrease.

The expence of collection, from various causes, is most seriously augmented; the demands for corn premiums are also much more considerable, but supposed to be frequently fraudulent.

Agriculture, and indeed farming generally, as well as manufactures, can never be carried on to advantage, except where persons of property will become farmers, manufacturers, and merchants. The least occasional check ruins them, and a larger interest on their slender capital is essential for their subsistence; and this want of capital applies with peculiar energy to the fishery upon the north-west coast, from whence it has been repeatedly, and almost to a degree of conviction, asserted, that the most material utility might be derived to the British Empire.

There is also reason to believe, that, till very lately,

considerable clandestine exports were made to America, and some to Portugal.

Another sensible inconvenience arises from the almost entire failure of paper credit, which renders cash necessary for every purpose of traffick, and tends to the ruin of many whose trade depended upon credit.

If a National Bank could be properly established, it would greatly remedy this inconvenience, and, in cases of emergency, might be a most important resource to Government.

It would be highly improper for me to state any thing upon the head of commercial indulgences, till the sentiments of those far more competent judges, whose opinions I have requested, have been communicated to me.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, May 29, 1779.

MY LORD,

I have the honour of enclosing herewith to your Lordship, an extract of a letter from the Earl of Tyrone to his brother, Mr. Beresford, dated the 28th instant, which was laid before me this day; by which your Lordship will find that the Roman Catholics of the county of Waterford, and a neighbouring county, were disposed to have formed themselves into Independent Companies, but that he had convinced them of the impropriety of such a measure, and that he understood they would, in an Address to Government, offer their assistance to join with the Protestant inhabitants to defend the country, in whatever manner Government should please to point out, in case of an

* This letter is peculiarly deserving of attention.

enemy's landing; and that his Lordship believed such an Address would come, which he should not hesitate to lay before me, and which I shall lose no time in transmitting to your Lordship as soon as it is received.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE EARL OF TYRONE TO MR. COMMISSIONER BERESFORD.

Curraghmore, May 28, 1779.

On the alarm here of the French landing, I found from their zeal, that the Roman Catholics in all these parts of the country were full of forming themselves into Independent Companies, and that in a neighbouring county it was actually begun. The variety of consequences which must attend such an event, though I am convinced well intended, are so obvious, that I thought it my duty, without waiting for advice until it might be too late, to exert myself to stop it.

I, therefore, have been with those who have most authority and influence among them, and think I have convinced their reason that, however well intended, they would subject themselves to misrepresentation, and might, instead of advancing an union between the two religions, raise a jealousy that might undo them.

In short, I thought it would raise such a noise at this, and the other side of the water, as must distress Government; but I convinced the leaders to change their ideas, and understand they will, in an Address to Government, offer their assistance to join with the Protestant inhabitants, in case of an enemy's landing, to defend the country in whatever manner Government shall please to point out.

I told them I should not hesitate in transmitting such an Address to the Lord Lieutenant.

Mention to Lord Buckingham, that I believe such an Address will come.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, May 29, 1779.

My Lord,

For some days past, the names of the traders who appear from the printed returns of the Custom-house to have imported any English goods, have been printed in the Dublin newspaper.

This is probably calculated for the abominable purpose of drawing the indignation of the mob upon individuals, and is supposed to be the act of the very meanest of the faction.

As this circumstance gives particular disgust to all reasonable people, means may probably be found to put a stop to it.

The accounts of the temper and disposition of this kingdom are very differently represented in England to those which are stated to me. Commercial indulgence and general relief are universally wished for; but assurances are given from all parts, that there never has existed an era, when a hostile attempt from any quarter would have been so strenuously resisted as at present.

The associations to wear only Irish manufactures may, I rather believe, *be considered as merely temporary, and will soon dwindle into nothing.*

The measures taken for the protection of the coasts have occasioned general satisfaction, though from the zeal of some of the officers in distant quarters, more alarm was occasioned than the circumstances called for. The in-

structions which I have sent Gen. Maxwell in the North, are—to be particularly careful in preventing any disputes between the military and the Independent Companies; rather to decline employing them, unless there should be any hostile attempts; but to avoid giving them the least foundation to assert that their offers of service had been rejected. I received yesterday a letter, dated the 26th inst. from the Earl of Clanricarde, informing me that a very large and respectable number of gentlemen of the county of Galway had formed themselves into a body for the protection of that county, and had done him the great honour of placing him at their head, as Colonel, under the appellation of the Clanricarde Volunteers; that they proposed to act as cavalry, and that should the French, or any other enemy, presume to land or invade this kingdom, he took the liberty of offering their services, and to march at their own expense to any part of this kingdom, in support of Government.

His Lordship likewise adds, that he will engage, on the shortest notice, and undertake to raise amongst his friends and tenants in the county of Galway, 1,000 men, who will swim in their own blood in defence of his Majesty and their native country.

To this letter I have only said in answer, that his Majesty cannot entertain the least doubt of his Lordship's peculiar zeal and attachment to his Majesty's, and the public service, upon every occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

LORD CLANRICARDE TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

Loughrea, May 31, 1779.

MY LORD,

I am just honoured with your commands the 28th of May. From the knowledge I have of his Majesty's goodness, I have the greatest reason to hope that he is fully persuaded of my attachment to his person and family; but, my Lord, as I act in a public capacity in my present application to your Excellency, I beg leave to know, whether you are pleased to accept of the services of the Clanricarde volunteers in the defence of this country, should any foreign power invade it. I will, in that case, engage to bring a most respectable body of gentlemen, and a powerful number of men, into the field.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CLANRICARDE.

MR. WAITE TO LORD CLANRICARDE.

Dublin Castle, June 5, 1779.

MY LORD,

My Lord Lieutenant being indisposed with a feverish cold, hopes your Lordship will excuse his making use of my pen to inform your Lordship that he received your letter of the 31st past.

His Excellency did not return any particular answer to that part of your Lordship's former letter of the 26th past, of which your Lordship makes an offer of the services of the Clanricarde volunteers, because his Excellency was satisfied that your Lordship must know, that as the association of numbers of armed men, formed under their own

regulations in different parts of this kingdom, cannot, as His Excellency is advised, be justified by law, it would not be proper for his Excellency to give *any encouragement or sanction to them.* At the same time, his Excellency cannot but be pleased with the zeal intended for his Majesty's and the public service; and, in case of an actual invasion, would think himself bound to call upon all his Majesty's subjects qualified to give aid and assistance to the repelling of it, in such a manner as his Majesty's servants shall judge to be best adapted for that purpose.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS WAITE.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, June 4, 1779.

MY LORD,

Sir Richard Heron having informed me that letters had been received in London, giving an account of a very extraordinary association entered into by the inhabitants of the county of Monaghan, I applied to Lieutenant-general Cuningham, who is Member for the Borough of Monaghan, to desire he would send me any papers whatever in his possession, relative to the associated companies in that county; in answer to which he has informed me that he has no such papers, nor has he ever seen any on that subject, except one private letter; nor does he believe, though it has been talked of, that any companies are yet associated there. It is my sincere wish to communicate to your lordship every possible authentic information of what is passing in this kingdom, that may deserve attention; but your lordship would deem the correspondence irksome, were you to be troubled with every report which is circulated in

our newspapers and coffee-houses, and industriously transmitted to England, where it is not understood how very little is known of the inferior and remote parts of this kingdom, and how difficult it is to obtain intelligence which may be depended upon. As I made it a rule, from the first forming of the volunteer troops and companies, to decline giving them any sanction or encouragement, to which I have steadily adhered, it has seldom happened that I have known anything of the association, until I saw them in the public newspapers, which being regularly transmitted to your lordship's office, will account for my not troubling your lordship concerning them upon every occasion. It is not uncommon for me to receive a visit *from a person who has expressed his uneasiness at the general situation of the kingdom, and for that person to be followed by another who shall dwell upon its tranquillity*, observing that fewer commotions and disturbances have happened of late than formerly.

A conversation of a disagreeable tendency was lately reported to me from good authority to have been held in this city; but that will occasionally happen in every great city, and under every Government. Certainly, upon the whole, the numbers of armed men formed under their own regulations, cannot but be surveyed with a most anxious eye. And your Lordship's candour will allow that, delicately circumstanced as Ireland is at present, it is scarcely possible in my situation to avoid censure for having said or done either too much or too little.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

LORD WEYMOUTH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

St. James's, June 7, 1779.

MY LORD,

I have received and laid before the King your Excellency's letter of the 23d May, in which you have stated the particular circumstances that have occasioned the raising of the several Independent Companies that are now on foot in Ireland.

It requires the utmost vigilance of Government that no injury should arise to the state, by the means that have been used by well designing subjects for the defence of the country, and the support of the civil magistracy.

Your Excellency informs me "that additional companies are forming, and that it has been asserted this arises from the insinuations which are daily circulated in the public prints, that the idea of their numbers may conduce to the attainment of political advantages to their country." This reason must be considered as alarming, since the expediency of any measure for political advantages to Ireland, is a sufficient consideration to secure to that country the full support of Government.

I am, therefore, to recommend to your Excellency, the utmost attention to any addition that may be made to the numbers of the companies already raised, and *that they be discouraged by all proper and gentle means.*

I am, &c.

WEYMOUTH.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, June 12, 1779.

MY LORD,

I am honoured this morning with your Lordship's letter of the 7th instant. With respect to the independent corps,

nothing has been omitted, which either in my judgment or in those of my advisers, could with propriety and discretion be enforced, *to prevent their rise and encrease.* Your Lordship must be sensible that its having been advanced by respectable gentlemen in the British Parliament, "how very inexpedient it would be not to yield to the petitions of Ireland, at a time when there existed so many thousand men armed, and arrayed under no command but that of the leaders they had chosen for themselves," how natural it was for those corps to keep themselves together, however the original principle of their conduct might be mistaken or misrepresented. The best dispositions of bodies of men, as well as of individuals, are too easily perverted by these plausible, though wicked insinuations. Hitherto, when a truly authentic account of any of the independent companies has reached me, it has done honour, as well to their dispositions as their conduct, and their numbers have fallen short of report.

Applications are hourly made for arms, in consequence of the late alarm,—*which shall in every instance be civilly refused.*

It concerns me to have but too much reason to apprehend that the concessions proposed by the gentlemen applied to in consequence of your Lordship's despatches of the 18th of May and the 1st instant, will be very extensive, even from those who are conscious of their inadmissibility.

The occasional favour of Government cannot induce men to incur the odium of their country, at a crisis which they deem critical for the attainment of her object. *Upon the whole consideration of this kingdom, the secondary measure of temporising is, in my opinion, called for;* and whatever may be the sentiments of Government respecting the independent troops, most studiously to avoid giving them any reason to believe that they are either feared or

suspected. Expense, fatigue, avocation from business, and subordination, will, by rendering their situation irksome, thin their ranks, and a peace would soon put a period to their existence.

The conduct of all denominations of men, upon the rumours of the last week, which now appear evidently to have been a wicked imposition, carries with it the agreeable conviction of there never having existed a period *when Ireland was equally able and willing to resist any attempt of invasion.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, June 25, 1779.

MY LORD,

I have mentioned to your Lordship at different times the applications that had been made to me for arms for the use of the self-created troops and companies in this kingdom, and my determination not to comply with such applications. Some of the most respectable noblemen of this kingdom, who are governors of counties, have since represented to me that, *in case of an invasion, it would not be in the power of gentlemen of the country to defend themselves, the people in general having no arms;* and that they must, consequently, be at the mercy of any banditti who might choose to pillage; and have, therefore, requested that they may be supplied with arms from his Majesty's stores, to be deposited in barracks, and not to be delivered out but by the express order of the governors of the counties.

I must inform your Lordship that there are at this time in His Majesty's stores in Dublin above 5,000 new arms,

and a further quantity is in hand; the whole of which will be wanted for the use of the regular troops, but there are also in store about 20,000 militia arms in perfect order.

Had a militia been arrayed, a number of these arms, equal to that of the militia, would, of course, have been issued, and put under the direction of the governors of counties.

I apprehend, as there has not been any array, it is not perfectly regular to place these arms in other hands; yet, upon such an emergency, as at present threatens, I submit whether it might not be justifiable and proper to lodge a number of them under the care of the commanding officers in some of the provincial towns in the southern parts of Ireland, in order that if there should be immediate occasion for them, they might be there ready to be delivered without delay.

As this is a case of great delicacy, and very different in its circumstances from the other applications for arms, and as upon my compliance with any of the applications in question, I must expect they will become general from every county in Ireland, I would not determine positively upon the matter, until such time as I should have an opportunity of stating it to your Lordship, and receiving directions for my conduct therein.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

CHAPTER XVI.

Exertions of the Press in favour of Ireland's rights.—Dean Swift's advice to use domestic manufactures.—Mr. Johnson.—Jebb, Dobbs, Pollock, O'Leary's writings.—Counties agree to use domestic manufactures.—Enter into non-importation and non-consumption agreements.—Lord Lieutenant's and Lord Weymouth's letters.—Invasion apprehended.—Privy Council orders the issuing of arms.—Roman Catholic priests.—The minister apprehends danger.—Government plan to discourage volunteers.—Conduct of Privy Council.—Their resolution.—Speech from the throne.—Letters of Lord Lieutenant and Lord Weymouth respecting the opening of the Session of Parliament in 1779.

THE press, that great champion of public liberty, that terror of tyrants, that powerful engine in the cause of the people, was neither indifferent nor inactive on the occasion of the important crisis referred to in the last chapter. The recommendation given by Dean Swift so many years before, to encourage the use of native commodities, and promote Irish manufactures, for which his Drapier's Letters were prosecuted, and voted to be dangerous and seditious libels,

was now revived, and seemed likely to prevail. Numbers of most excellent publications, written by distinguished persons, though under fictitious names, daily appeared, and were circulated throughout the country, and received with the greatest avidity. Mr. Robert Johnson, afterwards Judge, and Dr. Frederick Jebb, published letters on the affairs of Ireland, recommending domestic manufactures, denying the right of the British Legislature, and asserting the claims of Ireland to free trade. They appeared under the titles of "*Guatimozin*" and "*Causidicus.*" Mr. Charles Sheridan wrote observations in reply to Sir W. Blackstone, on the powers of the British Parliament. Mr. Pollock wrote a series of spirited and patriotic letters under the title of "*Owen Roe O'Nial,*" addressed to the people of Ireland, and in support of the volunteer associations: these were from time to time published in the papers of the day, and were full of freedom and ardour. Others appeared in the daily papers under various titles,—*Brutus, Decius, Fidelis, Hibernicus,* &c.; —asserting in constitutional language the rights of the country. Mr. Dobbs wrote to defend the non-importation agreement, and in support of domestic manufactures and home consumption, in reply to Doctor Tucker; and Doctor O'Leary's letters to the Roman Catholics, enjoining their union with their countrymen to oppose the foreign enemy, made a great and general impression.

Resolutions were also entered into by the volunteer associations, in support of home manufactures, accompanied by a determination to consume no other, and demanding an extension of their commerce.

This measure was now generally adopted, and being sanctioned by the leading men of the country, made great and rapid progress, viz. the consumption of home-made goods. In the early part of the year, the grand jury and many of the resident gentry passed resolutions on this subject, in Cavan, Carlow, Kilkenny, Queen's county, &c. They signed declarations, that in consequence of the distress of the nation, the unjust exclusion from trade, and the injurious and restrictive commercial regulations, they would not use imported goods, but consume their domestic manufactures, and that this declaration should be in force so long as the country remained excluded from participation in commerce. Lords Lanesborough, Farnham, Carlow, De Vesci, and a number of influential men of property, affixed their names to these documents, which quickly extended through the country, and were adopted by numerous county meetings. *

From the statements already made, it appears that Government was unable to afford the subject the ordinary return for allegiance,—(protection against either domestic distress, or foreign danger,) and it fell, with the nation, a sacrifice

* See Appendix.

to its own profusion; it first became a beggar, and then a bankrupt—so much so, that its officers would have starved, had it not been for a private gentleman, (Mr. La Touche,) who finding his country ruined by the councils that had directed her, with his private fortune propped up the falling state, and having given to the prodigality of Government opposition—afterwards gave to its necessities bread, and advanced to Government the sum of 20,000*l.*, to enable them to carry on the affairs of the country. Such was the state of Ireland; Government was bankrupt, and the house of La Touche upheld her credit. Thus was she left with a declining revenue, with an overloaded establishment, a bankrupt treasury, a ruined merchantry, a famishing people; the country plunged into a war, and exposed naked and defenceless; her troops withdrawn; her people denied arms; one part of the nation (the Catholics) by law forbidden to carry them—the other, (the Protestant) denied the use of them.

These were the fruits of sixteen years of peace, of the "*virtues of the best of kings*," and those of his viceroy; this was the result of the addresses that flattered on the journals,—of the wisdom of the parliaments of both kingdoms,—the wit and humour of Lord North, and of the admitted "loyalty" of Ireland.

At length that most important of all measures, urged by Mr. Pery, and forced on by the neces-

sity of the times, was adopted in council, and an order was at length issued to give out arms to the people. The Privy Council met, and thus decided, — and by its decision laid the ground work for those rights which Ireland had so long been deprived of. It was however delayed by the British minister till the enemy were almost on the shores of Ireland, and only carried by the earnest entreaty of Mr. Pery.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, 23rd July, 1779.

My Lord,

I received your Lordship's letter of the 12th instant, inclosing, for my information, a copy of his Majesty's proclamation of the 9th, *for driving all cattle, &c. from the coasts in case the enemy shall attempt to land,* and signifying that it is left to me to determine when it shall be considered expedient to publish orders of a similar nature in Ireland.

As this appeared to me to be a matter of very great importance, I immediately ordered a meeting of his Majesty's Privy Council to take the same into consideration, and desired their opinion on the expediency of issuing such a proclamation directly; but found them unanimous that the situation of this kingdom neither admitted nor required an order of that kind, which would spread an universal alarm, and might be attended with fatal consequences to public credit. I have therefore postponed taking any further steps in this matter for the present, but must inform your Lordship that the commander-in-chief, in the instructions which he has issued to all officers com-

manding his Majesty's forces in stations adjacent to the sea coasts, has directed them *to drive the cattle in case there should be a landing of the enemy.*

I have, &c.,

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, July 23, 1779.

MY LORD,

Several applications having been made to me at different times by noblemen and gentlemen, that they might be supplied at this juncture with part of the arms which were provided by Parliament for the use of the militia of this kingdom, I this day communicated those applications to the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council, and desired their opinion and advice for my conduct therein; and it being their opinion and advice that I should direct such part of the said militia arms as I shall think necessary to be delivered to the governors of the several counties of this kingdom, for the better preservation of the peace and safety thereof, I shall now be under no difficulty in complying with such applications, and hope that my determination to proceed according to the opinion of His Majesty's Privy Council will meet with His Majesty's approbation. I have the honour of inclosing herewith to your Lordship the Minute which was taken in Council upon that matter, and I desire your Lordship will lay the same before his Majesty.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

July 23, 1779.

PRESENT IN COUNCIL.

His Excellency, John, Earl of Buckingham, Lord Lieut.

Lord Chancellor,	Silver Oliver,
Lord Abp. Dublin,	Theo. Jones,
Lord Westmeath,	General Pomeroy,
Lord Howth,	Walter Burgh,
Sir Henry Cavendish,	John Scott,
Mr. Provost,	Thomas Waite,
Mr. Speaker,	H. T. Clements,
Sir Richard Heron,	William Burton,
Sir John Irwine,	Mr. Solicitor-General.
Thomas Conolly,	

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant having been pleased to communicate to the Council that several applications have been made to him for part of the militia arms, and having desired the opinion and advice of the Council thereupon; it is the humble opinion and advice of the Council to his Excellency, that he will be pleased to give directions that such part of the arms provided for the use of the militia of this kingdom, as his Excellency shall judge necessary, be delivered to the governors of the several counties of this kingdom, for the better preservation of the peace and safety thereof, upon application for that purpose, and upon their giving an acknowledgment in writing, containing an engagement to return the same when demanded.

HENRY UPTON,
Dep. Clerk of the Council.

Other fears appeared now to haunt the mind of the British minister; and that *political apparition, a Roman Catholic Priest,* frightened, almost on the eve of battle, the trembling conscience of the inmates at St. James's: they apprehended that foreign intrigue would be added to domestic discontent. But the minister and the king were mistaken; for the Catholics were loyal; not more so than they ought to have been when their country was threatened by invasion,—but much more than England had a right to expect, when we consider the *severe penalties to which they were subject, and the important privileges of which they were deprived* —aliens in their native country.

LORD WEYMOUTH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

(*Secret.*) *St. James's, August* 4, 1779.

My Lord,

Information collected from various places, leaves no room to doubt that a very considerable number of Irish Roman Catholic Priests have lately come into England, from several parts of foreign countries, in order to pass into Ireland. There is also good reason to believe that the several seminaries in France and Flanders have been directed to send many of their pupils to Ireland, to promote the views of the French court.

The zeal which the Roman Catholics of Ireland have shewn, leaves no reason to doubt of their loyalty; yet it may be very proper to acquaint, privately, some of the principal gentlemen of that persuasion with these facts, that they may take proper precaution that these designing

men should not have it in their power to mislead the ignorant.

I am directed to refer this matter to your Excellency's consideration, not doubting that you will take proper measures that this application may not occasion any unnecessary alarm, or be understood to imply any doubt of the zeal and loyalty of subjects whom His Majesty considers as faithfully attached to his person and government.

I am, &c.

WEYMOUTH.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

(*Secret.*) *Dublin Castle, August* 19, 1779.

MY LORD,

I have received the honour of your Lordship's secret letter of the 4th inst. signifying that a very considerable number of Irish Roman Catholic priests have lately come into England from several parts of foreign countries, in order to pass into Ireland, and that there is also good reason to believe that the several seminaries in France and Flanders had been directed to send many of their pupils to Ireland, to promote the views of the French court.

In consequence of this intelligence, I have made the strictest inquiry in my power relative to such priests, but am hitherto informed of *the arrival of two only* in this kingdom, who, as I understand, were sent for in order to *fill up some cures* which happened to be vacant.

Your Lordship may be assured that no attention on my part shall be wanting to defeat the evil designs of such persons, and that, pursuant to the instructions contained in your letter, I shall apprize some of the superiors of the Romish clergy of the intelligence I have received, and

recommend it to them to be particularly watchful of the conduct of all such persons as fall within your Lordship's description.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

At this period the minister proposed a plan, further to discourage the volunteers, by connecting them with the Government, and only granting temporary or local commissions to the officers, not to take rank in the army except during the time of their companies being in actual service, and then only to be issued when an invasion should take place. To this effect, a letter* was addressed from St. James's by Lord Weymouth, to the Irish Government; and in reply the Lord Lieutenant stated, that six colonels, six lieutenant-colonels, eight majors, forty captains, forty lieutenants, and forty ensigns, would be sufficient; the commissions were to be sent in blank to the Lord Lieutenant, and he was directed "*to issue them with great caution and reserve, and in the meantime, not to suffer it to be known.*" Such was the plan proposed by Lord North to repel the French, and enlist the Irish on the side of Great Britain: no promise of trade—no mention of constitution—but the people were called on to fight for a barren, unproductive connexion. Fortunately, the men at the head of the people were

* Letter, dated August, 1779.

far wiser than those at the helm of the state, and knew full well that no commission from the king was necessary to make men fight for their native country: Liberty alone would suffice. With this object therefore in view, the volunteers enrolled themselves; not under the royal commissions, but under their self-elected officers;—not in such limited numbers as proposed by the Government, but in such masses as the exigency of the times demanded, and the greatness of the cause required.

Lord Buckingham now found that the representations of the Irish Government, in regard to their financial difficulties, were still disregarded by the British minister, and the nation being left unprotected, and the treasury being exhausted, it appeared indispensable that another effort should be made, if possible, to recruit her finances. The Privy Council was accordingly summoned, to deliberate on the expediency of calling together the Parliament, with a view to supply funds for the troops, and enable them to take the field to repel the apprehended invasion. During two successive days, the question was discussed in Council, and their final opinion was, that for this purpose solely, the meeting of Parliament should not be accelerated, but they agreed that it might be assembled for the purpose of deliberating upon the *general state of the nation.*

Thus a body, not remarkable hitherto for its

constitutional or patriotic proceedings, and always acting under Poyning's Law, in the obnoxious character of an oppressive and grinding oligarchy, suddenly turned repentant, even on the subject of a money-bill, (that rock on which they had so often shattered the fortunes of the state,) and they now evinced a spirit worthy of the occasion, and of their country. They disdained to make Parliament a mere instrument to register the edicts of the British minister, and support a military force at home, unable to meet the enemy, though sufficient to overawe the people—or send their troops abroad to destroy freedom in America, instead of relieving the distresses, or restoring the rights, of the Irish people. They began at length to sympathize with the nation, and to imbibe somewhat of its patriotism, and thought the time had arrived for them to rouse the jaded mettle of ministerial honesty into a sense of public duty; they suggested that Parliament might assemble to consider the state of the nation, but should not meet for the solitary purpose of taxing the impoverished people of Ireland, who had been deprived both of trade and constitution, and who now were left without either money or protection—a beggared nation and an exhausted exchequer.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

(*Private.*) *Dublin Castle, July* 30, 1779.

My Lord,

Your Lordship having, in your private letter of the 17th and 19th inst., acquainted me that all monies granted by the British Parliament being appropriated, it was not in your power to remit the sum I represented to be necessary for the expenses of the present encampment here; and having desired that I should either recommend the immediate assembling of the Parliament of this kingdom, or assign such reasons against it as will be sufficient to satisfy the public of the impropriety of calling it before the usual time; I appointed a meeting of such of his Majesty's confidential servants, and other gentlemen whom it has been usual to consult upon subjects of importance, who are now in town, to consider the matter represented by your Lordship, and to give me their opinion and advice, whether it was expedient to call the Parliament before the usual time for the purpose of granting an immediate supply. That meeting was accordingly held yesterday in the Castle, and consisted of the following persons, viz.:—

The Chancellor,

Speaker,	Solicitor-General,
Provost,	Deputy Vice-Treasurer,
The Prime Serjeant,	Teller of the Exchequer,
Attorney-General,	And Mr. Foster.

I communicated to them the several proposals I had made, advising that the army should be cantoned rather than encamped, which I had recommended, from the low state of his Majesty's revenue, and the prospect there was of that proposal being adopted, until the hostile declaration

of the Court of Spain totally changed the face of affairs, and rendered it necessary that an encampment should take place. I also informed them, that at the same time the orders were issued for the encampment, I had represented to your Lordship, that, without an immediate supply to defray the expenses thereof, it would be impossible for me to proceed; and that in consequence of your Lordship's answer to that representation, I had convened them for their opinion and advice.

The matter propounded at this Meeting was very fully debated yesterday; and, at a second Meeting this morning, the Minute, which I have the honour of inclosing herewith to your Lordship, was unanimously agreed to, by which your Lordship will find, that *they earnestly recommend it to me as a measure of the utmost consequence to the security of this kingdom, to endeavour to prevail on the British ministry, to advance such a sum of money as may be necessary towards providing for its immediate defence,* rather than accelerate the calling of Parliament merely for that purpose; not presuming, however, to deliver any opinion upon the expediency of assembling the Parliament before the usual time, to deliberate upon the general state of the nation.

As I concur with these gentlemen as to the inexpediency of calling the Parliament merely for this purpose, before the usual time of assembling, I have only to renew my earnest application to your Lordship for such further remittance of money as from the papers already transmitted to your Lordship shall appear to be necessary, as well for defraying the expenses of encampment as other military services incident to the defence of this kingdom.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

Dublin Castle, July 29 and 30, 1779.

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant having desired the opinion of

The Lord Chancellor	Speaker
Provost	Prime Serjeant
Attorney-General	Solicitor-General
Deputy Vice-Treasurer	Teller of the Exchequer

and Mr. Foster,

upon the following question, viz:

Whether it is expedient to convene the Parliament of this kingdom before the usual time, for the purpose of providing a sum of money to answer the immediate exigencies of Government?

And it having been stated to them by his Excellency's command, that large sums were wanting to defray the expenses of encamping the troops, and to enable the army to keep the field, and for other immediate and most necessary purposes, which the treasury of this kingdom has not a fund to answer.

They, taking into their consideration the great and immediate urgency of these demands, and the length of time that must intervene before Parliament can be assembled, as well as the many difficulties that may attend the raising of money in the present situation of affairs, do most *earnestly recommend to his Excellency, as a measure of the utmost consequence to the security of this kingdom, to endeavour to prevail on the British Ministry to advance such a sum of money* as may be necessary towards providing for its immediate defence, rather than to accelerate the calling of Parliament merely for that purpose; not presuming, however, to deliver any opinion upon the expediency of

assembling the Parliament *before the usual time to deliberate upon the general state of the nation.*

As the meeting of Parliament approached, Government thought proper to consult the British minister on the subject, and they submitted to him what they intended to say in the speech from the throne, in order to satisfy the desires of the people; and the reply, as will be seen, states, that his Excellency had treated the several points "*with proper caution.*"—The speech, in fact, proposed nothing; it alluded invidiously to the late proceedings of the people throughout the kingdom, stating, that when trade and commerce were the objects of attention, it were to be wished that the general tranquillity would be restored; it stated that the revenues had declined, that the treasury was too exhausted to carry the militia law into effect, and it suggested no redress. But if the letter of the Viceroy was weak and inefficient, the indifference of Lord North will appear tenfold more censurable; for although the Lord Lieutenant had not courage to animadvert upon as they deserved, or even to allude to, the English Acts restraining the commerce of Ireland, and which she sought to have repealed, yet he forwarded the list to Lord North; but the latter did not condescend even to notice them in the speech from the throne. They were as follows:—

English Acts, restraining the Trade of Ireland:

12 Car. II. c. 18.—Commonly called the Navigation Act. All commodities may be imported into Ireland upon the same terms as into England.

15 Car. II. c. 7.—No goods can be *exported* from Ireland into any of the Plantations, except salt for fisheries, victuals, and servants. This is altered in respect to white and brown linens by 4 Ann. c. 8.

22 Car. II. c. 26.—None of the enumerated commodities can be imported from the Plantations into Ireland.—This is further enforced by the Acts, 25 Car. II. c. 22; 7 & 8 W. c. 2.

4 Geo. II. c. 15.; 5 Geo. II. c. 9.—The List of enumerated goods is increased.

The six last-mentioned Acts are desired to be repealed, as far as they respect Ireland.

10 & 11 W. c. 10.—No woollen goods can be exported from Ireland. This Act, too, is wished to be repealed.

It is wished that Ireland may import from, and export to, the Plantations, on the same terms as England, and that she may be permitted to export her woollens.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, Sept. 16, 1779.

My Lord,

As the business to be laid before the Parliament of this kingdom in the ensuing Session, will probably be of as great extent and importance as any which ever yet came under their deliberation; and, as it is my earnest desire to conduct the King's affairs in the manner most conformable to his Majesty's sentiments; I have the honour of inclosing herewith to your Lordship, to be laid before his Majesty, a

draught which I have prepared of such heads of a Speech, as, after consulting with such of his Majesty's confidential servants as are in and near Dublin, it has been deemed expedient to deliver to Parliament in the present state of this kingdom. And I beg leave to submit the same for such amendments and alterations as his Majesty may be pleased to determine.

The three principal matters to be propounded to them are, first, the necessary supplies to be raised, as well for discharging the great arrear now standing due upon his Majesty's Civil and Military Establishments, as for providing for their support to Lady Day, 1781, and for such extraordinaries as the safety and defence of the kingdom shall require at this juncture. Secondly, to state the reason why the Militia Law passed in the last Session of Parliament was not carried into execution; and to lead to the further consideration of that law, which, from the want of proper compulsory clauses, was thought, by many persons, inadequate to the purposes for which it was intended.

And thirdly, as the addresses of both Houses of Parliament in Great Britain to his Majesty in the last Session, to take into consideration the distressed and impoverished state of Ireland, and to direct, "that there be laid before Parliament, such particulars relative to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland, as may enable the national wisdom to pursue effectual methods for promoting the common strength, wealth, and commerce of both kingdoms," seem to make it *necessary for me to take some notice of that subject*, I apprehend, that to pass it over in silence would probably be considered in England as an unpardonable neglect, and in Ireland, as a settled resolution of the English Government not to afford any relief. The object of those Addresses is to obtain information

relative to the state of Ireland, and the means of relieving it.

The private opinions which have been transmitted, however well informed the persons are who gave them, may differ from the sense of the nation, which is the only solid foundation whereon any general system can be formed, and which can only be known with certainty from Parliament itself; and this seems to me to have been in the contemplation of both Houses, though not expressed in their Addresses.

That the Parliament of Ireland will address his Majesty upon this subject, though no notice should be taken of it in the Speech, will not admit of a doubt; and an Address, thus taking rise from themselves, however dutifully expressed, will have the appearance of a remonstrance, and may, probably, be conceived in terms by far more pointed than if the subject should be mentioned in the Speech. I would submit the propriety of its being introduced, as the Address may then be naturally confined within the same limits of expression, and any appearance of ill humour be prevented. This is, however, a matter of so much difficulty and delicacy, lest expectation may be raised too high on one side, or any embarrassment occasioned on the other, that I find myself under the necessity of requesting very particular instructions upon this head; and it will afford me much satisfaction, if the precise terms in which it is wished I should treat this subject, should be inserted in the draught to be returned to me.

I have industriously avoided introducing any matter into this draught which does not immediately relate to the internal concerns of this kingdom; and I do, with great submission, humbly recommend particular attention to this caution, lest, in the present disposition of several gentlemen here, if opportunity were given them, of entering upon

the discussion of external matters, it might produce a virulence of debate, exceedingly embarrassing and disagreeable. In this, and in whatever else it may become my duty to submit, I must flatter myself, that a candid construction will be put upon my zeal for his Majesty's service, and my wish to preserve the tranquillity of this kingdom, at a crisis when *the difficulties of Irish government hourly multiply.*

I shall detain your Lordship no longer, than to request that I may be honoured with his Majesty's instructions as soon as may be convenient, as this Parliament is to sit for the dispatch of business on the 12th of next month; and it will be necessary to communicate the Speech, as intended to be delivered, to the confidential servants of the crown, and the principal friends to Government; and to give copies of it to the Addressers in both Houses some days before the Meeting.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, September 16, 1779.

MY LORD,

I have the honour of inclosing herewith to your Lordship, a copy of a draught of a Speech which I have prepared for the opening of the ensuing Session of the Parliament of this kingdom, together with a copy of a letter which I have written upon that subject to Lord Weymouth, and have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

LORD WEYMOUTH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

St. James's, September 24, 1779.

My Lord,

I have laid before the King your Excellency's letter of the 16th instant, together with the draught of a Speech which you propose for the opening of the next Session of the Irish Parliament. This paper has, by his Majesty's command, been taken into consideration by his Majesty's confidential servants, who are unanimous in their approbation of it, and think your Excellency has treated the several points *with proper caution.* His Majesty has approved of their opinion, and I have not in command any alterations to propose, or additions to make, to the draught you transmitted to me.

Your Excellency, certainly, judges very properly in not introducing any matter into the draught which does not immediately relate to the internal concerns of the kingdom of Ireland. And I cannot doubt that your Excellency will use every proper means in your power, that the various and important concerns that are likely to be the subject of debate in the ensuing Session, should be discussed with proper regard to the mutual advantage of both countries.

I am, &c.

Weymouth.

CHAPTER XVII.

Critical state of Ireland.—Mr. Grattan and his friends concert measures for her relief.—Meeting for that purpose.—Mr. Daly's illness.—Two addresses prepared.—Mr. Daly's approved and moved in the House by Mr. Grattan.—Agreed to with alterations.—The Government taken by surprise.—Opening of Mr. Grattan's career.—Parliamentary anecdotes of Flood, Burgh, Pery, and Grattan.—Subsequent proceedings.—The Lord Chancellor and Lord Annaly.—The Lord Lieutenant to Lord Weymouth on the recent events.—The same to the same.—Imprudence of Government.—Non-controul of the English legislature over Ireland.—Volunteer question.—Reply of the King.—Commanding attitude of the volunteers.—Rejoicing of the people.—Demonstrations of revolt.—Scott and Yelverton.—Address to the Lord Lieutenant.—Taxes refused.—Brilliant speech of Mr. Burgh and its consequences.—His retirement from office and death.—Character of the Lord Chief Baron Burgh.

THE affairs of Ireland being reduced to such a critical state, as appears from the events before narrated, and the letters just disclosed, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Daly, and Mr. Grattan determined to exert every means for the relief of the country, and make still greater efforts to assist her trade and her manufactures. They accordingly agreed to press the question at the approaching Session of Parliament, which was fixed for the 12th Octo-

ber. They appointed to meet at Bray, a small town on the sea-coast, about ten miles from Dublin, and there to make the necessary arrangements. As they were sitting on the sea-shore, forming their plans, Mr. Daly was suddenly attacked by illness, and was obliged to leave the conference, so that the plan of proceeding was left to Mr. Grattan and Mr. Burgh.

Mr. Grattan had drawn up an address, and Mr. Daly another. Mr. Grattan's address contained more matter, and was more in detail, more eloquently and elaborately prepared; Mr. Daly's was shorter, and less oratoric. The latter had been shown to Mr. Pery, who had made some alterations on it. Mr. Grattan at once recognised the hand-writing, which to him was a great recommendation, and accordingly he gave a ready acquiescence, and adopted it in preference to his own. They then arranged to get some young member of family and consequence to support it, in order to attach him to their party, and Lord Westport was selected for the occasion.

Meantime Government was not idle or inactive; they had resorted to various stratagems to prevent any effort from being made in favour of the people, and in order to secure unanimity to their address, which in truth meant nothing further than was generally to be found in the ordinary and evasive phraseology of court rhetoric. Accordingly, when the Parliament assembled, and

as Mr. Grattan was going into the House, he met Mr. Yelverton, who told him that the Government were to propose a good address; that it alluded somewhat to the question of trade, and would not meet with his opposition or that of his friends. Mr. Grattan replied that he had an amendment, and that he would not yield; that the address gave them words and nothing more, and he would persevere in pressing his amendment to it. The Ponsonbys and the rest of the party agreed in opinion with Mr. Yelverton. But Mr. Grattan went on and proposed the amendment, which was seconded by Lord Westport;—Mr. Bushe and Mr. Forbes spoke in its favour; and Mr. Burgh said he approved of the principle. Mr. Grattan immediately asked Mr. Burgh whether he spoke on the part of the Government. He answered, he spoke his own sentiments, and those of an influential body, whom he represented (the College), and that if the commencement was somewhat altered, he would vote for it. He added, that he held a place under Government, but that he owed a duty to his country, and that he would always support her. Mr. Conolly, brother-in-law to the Lord Lieutenant, and who professed to represent the country party in the House, and took usually the lead of the country gentlemen, then stated that if the preamble was omitted he would support it also. Mr. Burton Conyngham, who aspired to the same post that

Mr. Conolly considered he held, and not wishing to be outdone by him, also signified his assent.

This preamble recited the grievances that oppressed the country, many of which the members of the Government were the authors of, and it could not be expected they would condemn themselves; but as the object was to show that the people were in the right, it was thought necessary to enter into some details, to rouse and encourage them, and justify the proceedings that they had taken. Anxious, therefore, to get the powerful support of these individuals, so highly connected and so influential in the country, and also to secure Mr. Burgh, who was prime serjeant, and who formerly had been the leading minister in the House, Mr. Grattan at once yielded, and adopted the suggestion.

Mr. Flood then spoke, and requested that the proposition should be rendered still more concise, and instead of the words of Mr. Burgh, "*Free Export and Import*" (which Mr. Grattan had adopted), to say merely "*Free Trade.*" This also was assented to, and Mr. Grattan accordingly consented to withdraw the former motion, provided the amendment thus altered was agreed to. This proposition was approved of, and the Government were thus taken by surprise, their party was scattered, and the House, struck by the novelty of the support of Mr. Conolly, Mr. Burton Conyngham and Mr. Burgh, passed the amendment with only one dissentient voice.

Mr. Foster, in accordance with the views of the Government, proposed a committee, which was not assented to, and the meaning of which was, a grave wherein to bury the question.

It is curious to observe upon what chances great measures depend, and to what hazard they are exposed, and what slight events (either the unbending spirit of an individual, or his accommodating disposition), may endanger or secure the rights and happiness of a people. This was the real commencement of Mr. Grattan's career. His friends were against him, and had they persuaded him to acquiesce in the Government address, and not to press his amendment, perhaps neither the free trade nor the independence of the country would at that period have been obtained; and if he had resisted the suggestions of his party, the amendment might have been lost. Mr. Grattan had the merit of proposing and pressing the measure, against the advice and request of his friends; Mr. Burgh had the merit of improving on the motion; and Mr. Flood had the merit of completing the proposition. The latter would have got more credit for the part he took in the business, had it not been that he was so anxious to obtain it all; for on a subsequent occasion, when speaking of that night's debate, he alluded to the part which Mr. Burgh and Mr. Grattan had taken in the transaction, and exclaimed, in one of his bursts of grave yet impas-

sioned eloquence—"*When these flowers shall have faded away, the oak that has been planted will flourish for ever.*" Mr. Burgh, who was at the time sitting next to Mr. Grattan, was angry at the assumption, and turning to him, observed—"See Flood's jealousy—he wants to rob us, and deprive me of the merit of my amendment. Now I shall disappoint him;" and accordingly Mr. Burgh got up, and replied—"The honourable member is right—he certainly had the merit of introducing the two words '*Free Trade,*' instead of the four words, '*Free Export and Import*'—he suggested the former, and I withdrew the latter." The House laughed, and Mr. Flood could say nothing in reply.

There was another amusing circumstance took place during this debate, and which Mr. Grattan used to relate with great pleasantry. "When I made my motion on Free Trade, the members attacked me; they used always to do so; they ridiculed my motion, and said that it was a juvenile composition; that it was weak, puerile, the production of a young mind, and that nothing could come of it. Lord Pery, who corrected it, was in the chair; the amendment was handed to him; and when he saw his own handwriting, he began to smile. Daly, and myself, who knew the cause, could not refrain from laughing when we looked at the Speaker's countenance, who was listening with the profoundest gravity to the

abuse of the motion, and to the charges of boyish composition; and when the business was over, Pery, Daly, and myself, enjoyed the recollection of the scene, and talked it over with great mirth; Pery highly delighted, and laughing most exceedingly."

This address, thus amended, having passed the Commons, was brought up to the Lord Lieutenant, at the Castle, by the entire House. The streets were lined by the volunteers, commanded by the Duke of Leinster; they presented arms as the Speaker and the Members appeared and passed through their numerous ranks, amidst the joy and resounding applause of the delighted people, who thronged around from all quarters, enraptured at a sight so novel and so strange; their Parliament becoming popular, and their trade becoming free. Government were much annoyed at this proceeding, and complained of the conduct of the Duke of Leinster; but affairs had arrived nearly at a crisis, and the interference of the people had become not only desirable, but indispensable. Fortunately, they had a good cause; and equally fortunate, was it that they had prudent commanders. Accordingly, Mr. Conolly next day moved in the House a vote of thanks to the volunteers, for their spirited and *necessary exertions* for the defence of the country; this was seconded by Mr. Ponsonby, and carried unanimously.

Even the House of Lords, hitherto a sleepy assembly, and who had not adopted any amendment in favour of free trade, did not remain unmoved, at this eventful moment; the Duke of Leinster made a similar motion next day in favour of the volunteers, which also was passed, though not without the opposition of the Lord Chancellor (Lifford*), and Lord Annaly.

At these proceedings the Government were much incensed. They thought the appearance of the volunteers improper, and the thanks of both Houses equally so; and they communicated the account of their proceedings to the ministry in England. It was seldom that a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had such rare and such popular intelligence to convey to a British minister, as the spirit and integrity of the House of Commons, and though probably not very palatable to either party, he performed the task without animadversion or discourtesy; but his disapprobation of the conduct of the Duke of Leinster, on the occasion of presenting the address, shows the stern rule he had laid down for his government, wherever Irish interests were concerned.

* Mr. Hewitt. He had been Sergeant-at-Law and Member of Parliament for Coventry in England, where he spoke well on a question of evidence regarding Mr. Wilkes in 1764. He was created a Judge in the Court of King's Bench, and in 1767 Lord Chancellor of Ireland; in 1768 created Baron Lifford. He died in 1789, and was succeeded by Lord Clare.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

(*Private.*) *Dublin Castle, October* 13, 1779.

My Lord,

As the transactions of yesterday have turned out differently from what I had reason to expect, I think it incumbent upon me to give your Lordship an account of what passed in the House of Commons, as well as of the steps which were taken by me previous to the meeting of the Parliament.

On the 9th instant the following persons met at Sir Richard Heron's apartment, in the Castle, in order to consider and prepare the Addresses to His Majesty and the Lord Lieutenant, viz.

The Primate,	The Provost,
The Chancellor,	Attorney General,
Archbishop of Dublin,	Solicitor General,
Archbishop of Cashell,	and
The Speaker,	Mr. Foster.

And there was another Meeting upon the 11th, of the above persons, and of

Lord Chief Justice Paterson,
Mr. Beresford,
Mr. Clements, the Deputy Vice Treasurer,
And Mr. Burton, the Teller.

At these Meetings it was agreed that Mr. Foster should, in speaking to the Address to the King, as the most effectual method of opposing any Amendments, give notice of his intention to move for a Committee to inquire into *the distressed and impoverished state of the Nation,* (those words were thought the least exceptionable, as being the same that were made use of in the Resolution of the British House of Commons, the 26th of May last) and that the same motion

should be made in the House of Lords; and all the gentlemen who attended these meetings were unanimous in their approbation of the proposed measures.

The Prime Sergeant remained in the country, declining to attend any meeting, although summoned. Mr. Flood came to town at my desire, but refused to attend these meetings, and absolutely refused to see Sir Robert Heron, who repeatedly wrote to him for that purpose.

The Duke of Leinster, Mr. Flood, and the Prime Sergeant, refused to attend me on Sunday night, at the usual meeting, to read the Speech.

After the Address to His Majesty was moved yesterday in the House of Commons, Mr. Grattan proposed a special amendment, which concluded with a requisition of a Free Export. In opposing Mr. Grattan's amendment, Mr. Foster mentioned his intention of moving for the Committee, and upon this ground the Amendment was opposed by the Provost, the Attorney General, and Mr. Foster, with great zeal and ability. Sir Henry Cavendish spoke substantially against the amendment, but proposed that the Parliament should depute some of their Members to treat with the Parliament of Great Britain, which idea was generally disrelished, and scouted by the Provost. After the business had been debated many hours, upon Mr. Grattan's amendment, the Prime Sergeant proposed a short amendment for opening the ports, which he supported in the strongest terms, and to the utmost of his abilities. Mr. Flood, the Vice Treasurer, spoke for the necessity of an amendment, and that it ought to go to a Free Trade, for that he thought Ireland could not ask for less, but that it was for Great Britain to judge what she could, consistently with her own interest, grant.

At the opening of the Debate upon the Prime Sergeant's amendment, Sir Richard Heron, in order to prevent our

friends *being imposed upon by the sentiments of the Prime Sergeant, or Mr. Flood,* who from their offices might otherwise have misled many of the friends of Government, took occasion in the most direct, and peremptory terms, to express his disapprobation of both amendments; rejecting the Prime Sergeant's as more exceptionable than the former, and expressed his approbation of Mr. Foster's motion, as more likely to obtain some effectual extension of commerce, than by the Address to His Majesty with either of the amendments, which could not but be attended with mischievous consequences to both kingdoms.

After the subject had been debated for some time, Mr. Grattan, at the desire of many gentlemen in opposition, consented to withdraw his motion, upon condition that the Prime Sergeant would alter his amendment from the words "opening the Ports" to the words "a Free Trade:" this occasioned a new debate, in which the amendment was supported by Mr. Conolly (who would have opposed Mr. Grattan's amendment), and by Mr. Ponsonby, and many other gentlemen. The servants of the Crown being of opinion that the most advisable way of getting rid of the amendment was by the previous question, it was moved accordingly by Mr. Mason; but the Speaker, although he admitted that there was one instance in the Journals in which the previous question had been put upon a similar occasion, gave his opinion that the mode was not proper, on which Mr. Mason immediately withdrew his motion. The Provost then told Sir Richard Heron that he could not give a negative to the proposition of a Free Trade.

The impression made by the Prime Sergeant and Mr. Flood, high in office, gave resolution and strength to many of their inferiors; and the very strong terms in which Mr. Conolly supported the Prime Sergeant's amendment, drew

after them the whole body of country gentlemen, who used to support the Government. The Provost, Mr. Foster, Mr. Burton, and Sir Henry Cavendish, spoke in support of it, and Mr. Clements, the Dep. Vice-Treasurer, acquainted Sir Richard Heron that his brother must also support it. The greatest part of the country gentlemen, usually friends to Government, as I have said, and many of the gentlemen in office, sent him notice that they must support the amendment. Lord Shannon very honourably offered to oppose it, but said, his friends would think it very hard to be dragged into a division with a very contemptible minority, for the purpose of being beaten against an amendment, which it was the general sense of the House ought to be supported. And the Attorney General and Mr. Beresford also offered to divide against it, but were of opinion that it would expose the great weakness of Administration, and tend to injure English and Irish Government, as well as to hold forth the very few persons determined to follow the Secretary to *the resentment of the nation;* and therefore it was thought advisable, and pressed upon the Secretary, both openly and privately, by several of the attached friends of the Government, to comply with the wishes and entreaties of the House, and submit to the amendment without a division; to which, though contrary to his expressed sentiments, delivered by him decidedly against it, and after having assured all his friends of his determination to oppose it, he was, at eleven o'clock at night, prevailed upon by the general importunity, though very reluctantly, to acquiesce.

Your Lordship may depend upon receiving early and regular accounts of any further proceedings that may be worthy of your attention.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

(Private.) *Dublin Castle,* 14 *Oct.,* 1779.

My Lord,

Mr. Conolly made a motion yesterday (a copy of which is enclosed) that the thanks of the House of Commons should be given to the volunteer corps; and although the servants of the crown thought the motion very exceptionable, yet they did not, in the present temper, deem the opposing it prudent; it therefore passed unanimously.

I hope however, that *any ill effects* which might be apprehended from the motion will be weakened, if not prevented, by the manner in which these companies are mentioned in the address of the same day of the House of Commons to me.

The Duke of Leinster made a similar motion to-day in the House of Lords, a copy of which is also enclosed, and it was carried without a division, but not without the dissent of the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Annaly, who, though they admitted the use of these corps for preserving the internal peace of the country, took the occasion to deliver their sentiments very fully on the illegality of raising such corps. The Lords, however, directed their resolution to be sent by their clerk to the different governors of counties. This day the Houses of Lords and Commons waited upon me at the Castle, with their respective addresses, when the corps of the Dublin Volunteers, under arms, lined the streets, as the Houses of Lords and Commons passed and repassed. I understand this was meant as a particular compliment to the Speaker.

I received an intimation yesterday evening of this design, and immediately sent Sir Richard Heron to the Speaker, to request he would use his influence for preven-

ting it. He expressed great disapprobation of the measure, but said he should not be able to prevent it, and that it was his opinion no notice should be taken of it; that if they observed it was disagreeable to Government, it might become of more consequence. This proceeding was occasioned wholly by the Duke of Leinster. He commands one of the corps, and wrote letters to the different officers desiring their attendance: several of his friends endeavoured to dissuade him, but could not prevail. The House of Commons have this day adjourned until the 1st day of November next.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

It happened, unfortunately for the character of the British Government, that a measure of theirs which occurred at this moment, perhaps through inadvertence as well as imprudence, served to increase the popular ferment. In the last session of Parliament, an English Act had imposed upon Ireland a duty of four-pence a pound on teas imported. The Irish Commissioners of Revenue had refused to enforce the payment of the duty, as it was not authorised by an Irish Act of Parliament. On the 24th November, Mr. Grattan observed, that Government were understood to sanction this Act, by imposing a duty conformable thereto. The Attorney General stated that the case was singular—that it was a mere matter of expediency.

This unfortunate answer opened the entire question of legislation. Mr. Daly, Mr. Grattan,

Mr. Yelverton, and Mr. Bushe, took fire at this. The Act was produced in which the English legislature assumed to bind Ireland, and they all declared that they would oppose a measure that had even the appearance of co-operating in such an Act.

At length the Attorney General gave up the point of law and of right, declaring that he was not a champion of English Acts of Parliament, and he disclaimed their legislative authority over Ireland. Coming from so high a quarter, this was a prodigious step in advance.

A few days afterwards a most important question was brought forward, respecting the arming the volunteers. Sir Richard Johnson reported from the Committee appointed to enquire into the condition and number of the militia arms, that there were 10,000 stand of arms not distributed. Mr. Robert Stewart presented a petition from the county of Down, signed by the sheriff, praying that these arms might be distributed among the volunteers. Parliament had voted last year 30,000 fire-locks for the militia, not for the standing army, and he made a motion accordingly. The secretary, Sir Richard Heron, stated that arms had been issued to the volunteers of each county, to the amount of 500 each. The Provost (Hutchinson) did not oppose it, but he said he viewed the demand for arms as rather mysterious; but he praised the volunteer corps, declaring at the same time he hoped the measure would not be pressed.

The motion was in consequence withdrawn, but it, however, produced its effect, and gave additional confidence to the people, when they saw that their proceedings were so regarded and protected by Parliament.

The King's answer to the Address on Free Trade, so anxiously looked for, at length arrived. It stated "his sincere concern for the distresses of Ireland; his affectionate attention to their interests, and his constant readiness to concur in such measures as shall upon mature consideration, appear most conducive to the general *welfare of all his subjects.*"

This reply, which might have meant any thing, would probably have ended in nothing, had it not been for the resolute spirit and conduct of the volunteers. They were determined the country should be duped no longer. Accordingly Mr. Chapman, a gentleman of extensive property and considerable weight in the country, on moving an enquiry into the state of the revenue of the kingdom, observed, that the country was now in arms, and that if the House did not right them, they would right themselves.

Mr. Yelverton said that the wounds which the constitution had received from England required a styptic, and the time to apply it was the present, when a spirit of discussion had risen within, and a spirit of resistance had gone abroad.

An attempt was now made by the Attorney General (Scott) to restrain the volunteers, and he

inveighed against them in an unsparing manner; but this only served to extend the flame. Mr. Grattan warmly defended their conduct, and contended that, as citizens, they had a right to direct their representatives on the leading subjects on which the nation was so interested.

The freeholders of the several counties, and the armed associations, assembled, and instructed their representatives not to vote for a Money Bill longer than six months. Those of the county Limerick instructed them to vote against a Union. Even at that early period they foresaw what might happen, and universally resolved, that a free trade alone could save their country.

It is to be remarked, that peace and order reigned throughout the kingdom, and the volunteers contributed in every way to preserve it. At this time, their numbers were supposed to amount to 42,000 men; giving to their country an independent air, a glow of zeal, a deliberative and modest courage. Their dispositions were more clearly manifested at the anniversary of King William's birth day, the 4th November. The volunteers of Dublin and the adjacent districts paraded round the statue in College Green, under the orders of the Duke of Leinster. The sides of the pillars were ornamented with emblems and devices, that spoke a language too plain to be misunderstood. On *one* was written, on a shield emblazoned in large letters, "RELIEF TO IRELAND;" on

the *second*, "THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND—QUINQUAGINTA MILLIA JUNCTA PARATI PRO PATRIA MORI;" on the *third*, "A SHORT MONEY BILL—A FREE TRADE OR ELSE——;" and on the *fourth*, "THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION." In front were two field-pieces, with this inscription affixed to each, "A FREE TRADE OR THIS!" The volleys of musketry, the discharge of artillery, were re-echoed by the cheers and shouts of thousands of the people, who thronged around the troops, and communicated their joy from street to street, not merely to the precincts of the Castle, but throughout the metropolis. Though they assembled round the statue of William, every distinction on account of colour or creed, was forgotten; the Williamite and the Jacobite united in the affection they bore to their country. No domestic feuds at that time divided the nation; and fortunately for her, party emblems were not then assumed as a test of loyalty—or bigotry as a proof of religion. At night the city was illuminated, and the joy at the success of Mr. Grattan's motion in Parliament, was universal. The event was commemorated by striking off a print, in which the Duke of Leinster, Lord Charlemont, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Fitzgibbon, are represented on the occasion.

These plain and explicit intimations were accompanied by an event which threw matters into still greater agitation. The people of Dublin,

pistols and swords, stopped a number of the Members on their way to the House of Commons, in order to make them vote for a Short Money Bill and against new taxes. They stopped the Speaker's carriage, and tendered to him an oath, to make him vote for the Bill and for the rights of Ireland. Some of them attacked the house of the Attorney-General—others went to the Law Courts in search of him. The military were called out, still the people refused to disperse. The troops were ordered back to their quarters; but the Lawyers' corps of volunteers, mixing among the people, at length induced them to retire quietly to their homes.

Mr. Scott went down to the House, and complained of the conduct of the people;—he proposed that they should resort to strong resolutions against such tumultuous meetings;—in short, he made a *terror-speech* against the volunteers.

Mr. Yelverton defended them, and ridiculed the fears of the Attorney-General; upon which Scott called him the "*Seneschal of sedition.*" The latter retaliated, and, much more appropriately, termed Scott the "*uniform drudge of every Administration.*"

Mr. Grattan observed, "Here I would recommend to the people moderation above all things; nor should I wish to waste one single spark of public fire, by any unavailing act of violence or tumult, which would disgust the moderate, and

terrify the timid;—certain that, by calmly persisting in their humble and just desires, they will associate in their support all ranks of men."

It was agreed that an address should be presented to the Lord Lieutenant, praying him to offer a reward for the apprehension of the rioters. Accordingly proclamations were issued offering the sum of 500*l.*

On the 24th, the important question which was to test the sincerity of the House as to their demands for free trade, was brought forward, and Mr. Grattan proposed the following short and decisive resolution: "That at this time it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes." This was carried by 170 to 47, being an unprecedented majority of 123 over the Government.

This success was quickly followed up by the patriots, and on the ensuing day, when the House had resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, it was moved that the appropriated duties should be granted for six months only. This too was carried, notwithstanding all the exertions of Government—the numbers being 138 to 100; the Government being abandoned by its principal supporters, and strenuously opposed by Mr. Forbes, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Latouche, Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Isaac Corry, and Mr. Daly.

It was on this debate, that Mr. Burgh, then Prime Sergeant, made his brilliant speech, which produced such electric effect in the House and

galleries, but which, in the Viceroy's letter, is termed "great violence." They rose in a mass, and cheered him repeatedly, as he concluded.—"Talk not to me," said he, "of peace; Ireland is not in a state of peace; *it is smothered war*. England has sown her laws like dragons' teeth, and they have sprung up in armed men."

The courtiers were alarmed, and in vain strove to appease the clamour. The words "smothered war," excited the disapprobation of Mr. Conolly. Sir Henry Cavendish called upon the Government to uphold the dignity of the House, and insisted on clearing all the galleries; and his ardour was with difficulty restrained.

This speech deprived the Prime Sergeant of his office. He was too high-minded to receive a salary from a Government which he found it necessary to oppose; and a few days afterwards he sent in his resignation. To this circumstance, Mr. Grattan alludes, in his reply to Lord Clare's pamphlet in 1800, where he beautifully says, "the gates of promotion were shut, as those of glory opened."

After 1782, he was appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer; he lived but for a short time, almost too short to prove that he would have been as great an ornament to the judicial bench, as he had been to the House of Commons—in both he did honour to his country.

Walter Hussey Burgh, whose conduct was thus conspicuous, was a remarkable personage. He was

an ardent lover of his country, and a man of incorruptible principles; an excellent speaker, an excellent House of Commons' man. He was most polished in his manners, but rather vain. He spoke often, and was perhaps the most brilliant man in the House, and the best calculator of questions. He knew better than any man how to collect the sense of all parties, and to shape a motion that would unite their sentiments, and please them all. He used to say of himself, what was perfectly true, that he would *suck out their brains*. His wit was satirical, without being too severe. He possessed great knowledge, and was a most powerful Member of Parliament; so much so, that he was termed, and justly, *the Cicero of the senate*. By his superior art, he avoided all disputes; he steered clear of any personal altercation, and was too skilful a fencer to expose his person. In reply he was excellent, and he thought on his legs better than Daly; he had more wit, more humour, more application; but in voice and manner he was not so pleasing nor so effective. When Daly was prepared, he would have surpassed Burgh. Daly's *best speech* would have been better than Burgh's; but *the every-day* speeches of Burgh were infinitely better than those of Daly. He had practised much in the courts of law, and had been spoiled in consequence. The noise in the street being great (the courts then bordered upon it) he found it neces-

sary to speak very loud, and all modulation and softness of tones were lost, so that his voice was injured by his exertions at the bar.

Burgh had a fine figure; and he studied action, —so much so, that he was called an "*attitudinarian.*" The conclusion of one of his speeches, before alluded to, produced almost a magical effect; "You think it is peace! No; (striking his breast) it is smothered war. You have sown your laws like dragons' teeth, and they have sprung up in armed men." He delivered this in a fine manner and commanding air, and it was felt and received with a burst of enthusiasm.

Burgh, however, was afraid of Mr. Grattan's proceeding so far in 1780. He dreaded the power of England; he, as well as Yelverton, had been softened by Lord Buckinghamshire, and his ardour somewhat cooled, and he feared to encourage the volunteers, lest the two countries should be committed. He probably would have stopped at 1779, when free trade had been obtained; but afterwards, when the question of independence was brought on, he supported it nobly,—he gave up all hopes of preferment, and a second time sacrificed himself, rather than sacrifice his principles. Mr. Grattan had fixed the motion for the 19th of April, and having heard that Mr. Burgh's health would prevent him from attending, he wrote to him that the question would come on, and that he hoped it

would receive his support. Burgh's reply was prompt and decisive;—"I shall attend, and if it were my last vote, I shall give it in favour of my country."

If Mr. Burgh had voted against this motion he was sure of being highly promoted. When the debate came on, he spoke very well; and, after he had finished, he turned to Mr. Grattan, and said, "I have now sacrificed the greatest honour an Irishman can aim at." He had lost office before on account of his vote in favour of Ireland, and he knew, that if he had now voted against the question of independence, he would have been promoted with full powers; but he gave up all personal consideration to that of the people; and though he was fond of glory, and would sacrifice much to it, the love of money and the love of power yielded to that of ambition and his country. A rare and splendid example to posterity!!

Burgh was appointed Prime Sergeant on the death of Mr. Dennis, in 1777, and held the office till 1779, when his support of Mr. Grattan's motion for free trade caused him to resign. He practised at the bar with much celebrity and great success; he died at the age of forty, in 1783, shortly after his elevation to the bench. Mr. Flood, in alluding to his death, spoke highly in his praise:—"A man dead to every thing but his own honour and the grateful memory of his country—a man over whose life or grave envy never hovered—a man

ardently wishing to serve his country himself, but not wishing to monopolize the service—wishing to partake and communicate the glory—my noble friend—I beg pardon—he did not live to be ennobled by patent—he was ennobled by nature."

It is a matter of regret that nothing remains of Burgh's speeches or law arguments,—his opinion in the case of Lord Anglesea excepted, which is good, and does him credit. He was fond of parade and show, and used to drive about with six horses, and three out-riders. His extravagance was great, and he therefore died in distressed circumstances; but the nation paid his debts, and pensioned his family.

Mr. Grattan proposed this grant as a debt due by the country for his integrity and his patriotism, and a mark of respect for his talents and public services. Allusion is made to it in the letter from Lord Temple, then Lord Lieutenant, where a just tribute of praise is tendered to the memory of this distinguished individual.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN FOSTER.

Stowe, October 24, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

Though the family of Lord Chief Baron Burgh have thought it necessary to acknowledge my last letter to him, I feel that neither he nor they could owe to me the smallest obligation for the part I took in the transaction which it states; but I prize much too highly the task of lamenting

with that family the loss which the public and his friends have suffered, not to thank you for the opportunity which you have given me. In the language of cool but of bitter reflection, I must always say, that there is not the man in Ireland whose knowledge, virtues, and character, can enable him to do that service to the empire which our lamented friend had the means of doing, if his talents had been called properly into the service of the State. No one had that steady decided weight which he possessed in the judgment and affections of his country, and no one had more decidedly that inflexible and constitutional integrity which the times and circumstances peculiarly call for.

My letter to him speaks my feelings upon the transaction which it states, and I have expressed my wish to Mr. T. Burgh, that it may be preserved as a testimony, not discrediting to either of us. The feelings of regret for his loss are softened to his family by the testimony of the public in favour of those orphans, now their adopted children. Suffer me to share in the satisfaction which his friends must feel in the receiving of it, and to assure you, that I have not regretted my resignation till the moment in which I saw that the vote had left the final arrangement of this business to the Lord Lieutenant.

I will only detain you to repeat to you the assurance of the high esteem which I always felt for your character, and to thank you again for the assistance which your communication gave to me in Ireland. With these sensations, I am very truly,

Dear Sir,

Your very faithful and obedient servant,

NUGENT TEMPLE.

APPENDIX.

The matters contained in the following Appendix are introduced with a view to show the constitutional spirit that existed in Ireland, and the various efforts made to regain the rights and freedom of the country, to which she *set up in legal parlance a continual claim.*

The records from whence they are taken are authentic, but seldom referred to.

APPENDIX.

I.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT IN THE TIME OF CHARLES THE FIRST, IN ASSERTING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

[July 21st, 1634.]

A Committee of Grievances was appointed,—that six select persons draw up the heads of the propositions made to the Committee of Grievances, and certify them to the House, that the House may present them to the Lord Deputy (Strafford).

[August 1st, 1634.]

Ordered—that the Graces and Instructions reported by the Committee of six, as necessary to be passed as laws, be presented to the Lord Deputy, to recommend to the Committees of the Council Board, to be drawn into form of Acts to be transmitted to England.

II.

INSTRUCTION FOR THE SAID COMMITTEE IN ENGLAND.

[January 20th, 1640.]

1. To move His Majesty for the passing of a bill for the further explanation of Poyning's Act.

2. That the Commons during Parliament may draw up Bills by their own Committee, and transmit them.

3. To prevent the inconveniences sustained by farming the King's Customs.

4. To prevent the inconveniences sustained by sale of licenses to export commodities prohibited by statute.

5. To prevent the cessing of kindred with soldiers, when any of their sept do shun the course of law, until he be brought in.

6. To establish by Act of Parliament, the instructions for regulating the Courts of Justice.

III.

QUERIES TO THE JUDGES.

[February 16th, 1640.]

The Queries ordered to be entered among the ordinances of the House, and also presented to the Lords?

Questions wherein the House of Commons humbly desires that the House of Lords would be pleased to require the Judges to deliver their resolutions.

1. Whether the subjects of this Kingdom be a free people, and to be governed only by the common laws of England, and statutes in this kingdom.

2. Whether the Judges of this land take the oath of Judges, and if so, whether, under pretext of any state, or direction of the Great or Privy Seal, or command from the Chief Governor of this kingdom, they may hinder, stay, or delay the suit of any subject?

3. Whether the Privy Council, with the Chief Governor, or without him, be a place of judicature by the common laws?

4. The like of the Chief Governor alone?

5. Whether grants of monopolies be warranted by the law, and of what?

6. In what cases the Chief Governor and Council may punish by fine, imprisonment, mutilation, pillory, or otherwise, &c.?

7. Of what force is an Act of State in this kingdom, &c.?

8. Are the subjects of this kingdom subject to the martial law, &c.?

9. Whether voluntary oaths taken before arbitrators for affir-

mance or disaffirmance of any thing, be punishable in the Castle Chamber, or elsewhere, and why?

10. By what law none is remitted to reducement of fines and penalties in the Castle Chamber, without confessing the offence charged against him, though, in fact, he is innocent?

11. Whether the Judges of the King's Bench, or any other Judge of Gaol Delivery, can deny the copies of indictments of felony, to the parties accused?

12. What power the Barons of the Exchequer have to raise the respite of homage arbitrarily, to what height they please, &c.?

13. Whether appealing to His Majesty for redress of injuries be censurable?

14. Whether the Deans or other Dignitaries of Cathedral Churches, be not elective or collative?

15. Whether issuing *quo warrantos* against ancient boroughs, to shew cause why they sent burgesses, be legal?

16. By what law are jurors, who give verdicts according to their conscience, fined in the Castle Chamber?

17. By what laws are men censurable with mutilation in the Castle Chamber?

18. Whether in the censures in the Castle Chamber, regard be had to the words in the Great Charter, *salvo contenemento*, &c.?

19. Whether one who steals or commits any other felony and flies, be a traytor; and if not, whether a proclamation can make him so?

20. Whether the evidence of rebels, or other infamous persons, be good in law, to be pressed upon the trials of men for their lives?

Are Judges or Jurors judges of the fact?

By what law are fairs or markets to be held in capite?

These queries, so essential to the rights of the subject, were not answered as they should have been by the Judges; and the House declared their answer insufficient; most of them they did not wish to answer; many of them they would not answer; but some they did answer, favourably to the rights of Ireland. The House of Commons, however, voted on each of them (July, 1641), and

in every one they asserted and affirmed the rights, the liberties, and the privileges of the people.

IV.

PROTESTATION OF THE COMMONS.

Lord Strafford having introduced a panegyric upon his Government in the Bill of Supply, the House, on its return to them, could not alter it; therefore they recorded the opinion against the conduct of the Deputy as follows:—

[February 17th, 1640.]

Protestation against part of the preamble of the Act of Subsidies, granted this present Parliament, concerning the Earl of Strafford, and his manner of Government, ordered to be the public protestation of the House, and entered among the Ordinances, and sent to the Committee in England, to lay before the King.

[November 7th, 1640.]

1. A remonstrance of grievances to the Lord Deputy, setting forth the poverty and distress of the Kingdom,—from the general decay of trade, occasioned by the new and illegal raising of the book of rates and impositions.

2. From the arbitrary decision of all civil causes and controversies by paper petitions before the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Deputy, and infinite other judicatories upon references from them derived, and the consequential, immoderate, and unlawful fees by secretaries, clerks, pursuivants, serjeant-at-arms, and otherwise.

3. By proceedings in Civil cases at the Council Board contrary to law and the Great Charter.

4. By denial of the benefit of princely graces.

5. By the extra-judicial avoiding of letters patent of estates of a great part of His Majesty's subjects, under the Great Seal of the public faith of the kingdom, by private opinions delivered at the Council Board, without legal eviction of their estates, contrary to law, and without precedents.

6. By the proclamation for the sole emption and uttering of tobacco, bought at low rates, and uttered at excessive.

7. By unlawful increase of monopolies.

8. By the cruel usage of some late Commissioners to the inhabitants of Londonderry.

9. By the erection of the High Commission Court for causes ecclesiastical, and proceedings of the Court without legal warrant.

10. By the exorbitant and barbarous fees and pretended customs exacted by the clergy contrary to law.

11. By His Majesty's debts.

12. By the prohibition of persons of quality or estates to go to England, without the Lord Deputy's licence, whereby they are shut out from access to His Majesty and Council.

13. By informations exhibited against ancient boroughs by the King's Attorney General.

14. By the power of some Ministers of State in the kingdom restraining a national freedom of the Parliament, in its members and actions.

15. By immoderate fees in Courts of Justice, ecclesiastical and civil.

Ordered—that a Select Committee be nominated to repair to England, and present the remonstrance of grievances to His Majesty.

[November 11th, 1640.]

Committee authorized to require all necessary copies of records, entries or books, without fees, to receive complaints of grievances and present them to His Majesty, and in the name of the Commons, desire a continuation of the present Parliament, or speedy calling of a new, for redress of the said grievances.

V.

IMPEACHMENT OF LORD STRAFFORD.

[November 11th, 1640.]

1. That the realm of Ireland having been time out of mind annexed to the Crown of this His Majesty's realm of England,

and governed by the same laws—the said Earl of Strafford did, in answer to an address from the City of Dublin, declare that Ireland was a conquered nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased, and that the Charters of Dublin were nothing worth, and did bind the King no farther than he pleased.

2. That in the case of the Earl of Cork, he declared the Earl and all Ireland should know that an act of State was as binding as an Act of Parliament.

3. That he sentenced to death without any warrant or authority of law, and without trial or legal proceedings, put the sentence into execution.

4. That he disseized Lord Mountmorris, and put him out of possession of his lands on a paper petition.

5. That without trial or jury process, he procured the Judges' opinions on a case regarding Lord Dillon, and dispossessed him and others, and ruined their families.

6. That without legal process, and merely on petition, he made a decree against Lord Loftus, and imprisoned him for disobedience thereof.

7. That without any authority, and contrary to his commission, he required Lord Loftus (the Chancellor) to deliver to him the Great Seal, and imprisoned him for disobedience thereof.

8. That without legal proceedings he imprisoned the Earl of Kildare for refusing to submit his title to his . . . . . lands to said Earl's will, and detained him for a year, notwithstanding His Majesty's letters for his enlargement.

9. That in the case of Dame Hibbotts, in which the most of the Council were favourable to that lady, the Deputy by threats of fine and imprisonment compelled her, notwithstanding, to submit to his order, whereby she relinquished her estate in the lands in question, which were conveyed to the use of the said Deputy; and did imprison divers others for disobedience to his orders and decrees, as to titles of lands and pretended debts, on paper petitions preferred to him, and no cause legally depending.

10. That he issued General Warrants to imprison any of the poorer sort, who after citations should refuse to appear, or

should deny obedience to decrees and orders imposed or issued out against them.

11. That he procured the customs of merchandise exported and imported to be farmed to his own use, and raised the Book of Rates, so that the customs which were hitherto but a 20th part of the value, were enhanced a 5th, a 4th, and a 3rd, to the great oppression of the subjects, and decay of trade.

12. That he restrained the export of commodities without his license, and then raised great sums of money for licenses for his own use.

13. That by his sole proclamation he prohibited the importation of tobacco; that for his own use he afterwards imported it, whereby he obtained the monopoly, and sold it at great and excessive prices; and for the violation of his proclamation not to expose any for sale without the Deputy's own seal, he fined, imprisoned, whipped, and put in the pillory His Majesty's subjects.

14. That he issued his proclamation enjoining the working of flax, the principal and native commodity, in such ways, wherein the natives were unused and unpractised, and seized the same, whereby the deputy gained the sole sale thereof.

15. That by proclamation he imposed new and unlawful oaths on the owners and masters of ships, whence they came, what their merchandize, whither they were bound.

16. That to subdue the subjects of the Realm of Ireland, he imposed of his own authority large sums of money on divers towns and places in said realm, and levied the same by soldiers with force and arms, and sent soldiers to lie on the lands of such as would not comply; and that he expelled divers people from their houses and manors, and imprisoned them and their wives in Dublin, until they would surrender their estates, and thereby levied war against the Irish.

17. That he obtained from His Majesty the allowance to his proposition, that no complaint of oppression, or injustice done in Ireland should be received until first submitted to him; and to prevent the subjects of all means of complaints and of redress, he issued his proclamation to prevent the subjects of the realm departing thence without his licence, and enforced the same by fine and imprisonment.

18. That he had raised an army of 8,000 papists, and had imposed a new oath by his own authority, purporting to obey all His Majesty's commands, and to protest against none of them.

VI.

IMPEACHMENT OF THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

[February 27th, 1641.]

Committee appointed to draw up an Impeachment of High Treason against the Lord Chancellor Bolton, the Bishop of Derry, Sir Gerald Lowther, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and Sir George Radcliffe; and to move the Lords that they may be secured and sequestered from their House, the Council table, and all other places of Judicature.

Articles exhibited against them:—

1st. That they have conspired to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, and introduced an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law, by the countenance and assistance of Thomas, Earl of Strafford, then Chief Governor.

2nd. That they have traitorously assumed to themselves, and every of them, regal power over the goods, persons, lands and liberties of His Majesty's subjects of this realm.

3rd. That the better to preserve themselves and the said Earl of Strafford, in these and other traitorous courses, they have laboured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the ancient courses of Parliamentary proceedings.

VII.

THE GRACES.

King Charles's letter for the continuance of Parliament (28th March), was laid before the House, together with the following (3rd April), regarding the *Graces:* these resembled the English Petition of Right, and secured the property of the subject from the claims of the Crown, and the person of the subject from the oppression of the

Government. The acts here alluded to did not pass into law, and the civil war put an end to this legal proceeding, which would have given security to the Irish, (a good argument this against insurrection.)

[May 22nd, 1641.]

His Majesty's Letter touching the Graces.

CHARLES R.

Right trusty and well-beloved Councillors, we greet you well: Whereas, humble suit hath been made unto Us by the Committees of the Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, in that our kingdom of Ireland, among the particulars, for the obtaining of the benefit of certain Instructions and Graces, by us promised, in the fourth year of our reign, to our subjects of that kingdom, which they allege they have not hitherto fully enjoyed according to our gracious intention, and their said suit for enjoying the said Graces being by us taken into serious consideration, after great deliberation and the advice of our Privy Council thereupon heard; we thought fit, by these our letters to declare that all and every of our subjects, of that *our kingdom, shall, from henceforth enjoy the benefit of the said Graces,* according to the true intention thereof * * * * * * that forthwith *several Bills be transmitted from you,* our Justices and Council there for securing unto our said subjects in Parliament such particulars. * * * * * * * We are graciously pleased, according to our princely promise, in the 24th and 25th articles of the said Graces, *and in performance of the engagements of our Royal Father and Queen Elizabeth, to secure the estates, or reputed estates of the inhabitants, as well of Connaught and* County of Clare, or County of Thomond, as of the Counties of Limerick and Tipperary. * * * * * * * * We will and require you, that forthwith an act be transmitted for the settling of the said Province and Counties, and every part thereof, according to the tenor and intention of the said twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth articles respectively. * * * * * *

And these our letters for your proceedings therein shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given under our signet, at our Palace at Westminster, the third day of April, in the seventeenth of our reign, by commandment of His Majesty.

H. VEYNE.

VIII.

THE THREE INSTRUMENTS.

Drawn up by Committees of both Houses of the Irish Parliament, and transmitted to England to His Majesty.

FIRST INSTRUMENT.

[May 24th, 1641.]

The thankful acknowledgment and humble supplication of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled.

WHEREAS your sacred Majesty * * * * * * * * *

That your Majesty will be likewise graciously pleased to vouchsafe to apply effectual and timely remedies to the grievances heretofore complained of, or hereafter to be represented unto your Majesty by our said Committees, which said grievances were occasioned and acted by some Ministers of State in this Kingdom, without your Majesty's privity or knowledge, as we do most confidently assure ourselves; and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased, that this Parliament may not be prorogued or dissolved, until such time as the said bills, and such other bills as are, or shall be found in Parliament, and until the said grievances be removed.

SECOND INSTRUMENT.

[May 24th, 1641.]

The declaration and protection of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled.

WHEREAS, *in the reign of King Henry II. the Common Law and lawful Customs of England were received, planted, and established in His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland, and then and*

soon after the said law and lawful customs were established and confirmed in and by several Parliaments held within this realm: and whereas in all ages since the said reign of King Henry II., Parliaments were held in this realm, which said Parliaments were called for the high and weighty affairs of the said realm.

* * * * * * *

That all other the Courts of Justice, and all Magistrates, Judges, Officers and Subjects of any estate, degree, quality, or condition whatsoever of the said realm of Ireland, are liable to the resolutions, orders, and judgments of the said Court of Parliament of this realm: and that the said Court of Parliament is the Supreme Court of Judicatory in the said realm.

It is ordered, upon question, that the instrument, intituled thus,—*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, humbly sheweth unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled,*—having been this day three times read in this House, shall be entered among the acts, orders, and ordinances of this House, and be presented to His Majesty by the Committee of this House in England.

THIRD INSTRUMENT.

[May 24th, 1641.]

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

Humbly sheweth unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled * * * And the said Lords and Commons do most humbly beseech your Majesty to be graciously pleased to be rightly informed, *that the Judicature in Parliament and in all other your Majesty's Courts of Justice in this Kingdom, is, and for these four hundred and sixty years hath been guided and directed by the Common Law of England, and course of Parliament in that Kingdom,* according to the records and precedents of England:—That therefore your Majesty will be graciously pleased not to give way, that so high and clear a point and undeniable a truth concerning your Highness's laws and government, and the rights and just liberties of your people, may be left subject to dispute or debate: And that your Majesty will be pleased not to give credit or belief to any information against

the real intentions and proceedings of the said Lords and Commons in Parliament; which have been, in the impeachment of the persons aforesaid, and in all other matters with great moderation and temper, and shall be applied to your Majesty's profitable and lasting service, and to the general content and quiet of your people, whose liberty will strengthen your Majesty's prerogative, and your Highness's prerogative will defend their liberties. And as in duty bound, they will pray for your Majesty.

IX.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF IRELAND.

[July 26th, 1641.]

It is voted upon question, *nullo contradicente,* that the subjects of this His Majesty's kingdom are a free people, and to be governed only according to the common law of England, and statutes made and established by Parliament in this kingdom of Ireland, and according to the lawful custom used in the same.

X.

A List of persons elected to sit for Ireland in the English Parliament, in the Time of Cromwell, A.D., 1654.

MUNSTER.

Kerry, Limerick, and Clare.	Sir Hardress Waller. Col. Henry Ingoldsby.
Cork, city and county, Kingsale, and Bandon.	Lord Broghill. Major Gen. Jephson. Mr. Goakin.
Tipperary and Waterford.	Commissary Gen. Reynolds. Col. Sankey. Capt. Halsey.

LEINSTER.

Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford.	Col. Sadler. Col. Axtel.
Kildare and Wicklow.	Major Morgan. Major Meredith.
Dublin, city and county.	Col. Hewson. Alderman Hutchinson.
Louth and Meath.	Col. Fowke. Major Cadogan.
Westmeath, Longford, King's and Queen's counties.	Not yet returned.

ULSTER.

Precinct of Belfast.	Col. Arthur Hill. Col. Venables.
Belturbet.	Col. Cale. Major Redman.
Precinct of Londonderry.	Not yet returned.

CONNAUGHT.

Leitrim, Sligo, and Roscommon.	Sir Robert King. Sir John Temple.
Galway, city and county.	Sir Charles Coote. Commissary Gen. Reynolds.

[Could any man of virtue, patriotism, or common sense wish to see such a representation in Parliament for Ireland? Yet the Protestants of the day called it the *Reign of Saints on Earth.*]

XI.

INSULA SACRA ET LIBERA.*

A List of the Members of the Honourable House of Commons of Ireland who voted for and against the altered Money Bill, which was rejected on Monday the 17th day of December, 1753.

[December 14th, 1753.]

A Bill intituled, "An Act for the payment of Seventy-seven Thousand Five Hundred Pounds, or so much thereof as shall

* The original of this, richly embellished, is preserved in the Gore family, whose five voices decided the question.

remain due on the twenty-fifth day of December, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, in discharge of the National Debt, together with Interest for the same, at the rate of Four Pounds per centum per annum, from the said twenty-fifth day of December, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-three until the twenty-fifth day of March, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-four; was read the first time in the House of Commons.

On the same day a Committee was appointed to examine what alterations have been made in the Heads of Bills sent from this House this Session of Parliament, and where the same have been so made.

[December 15.]

Mr. Upton reported from the said Committee, that there was an alteration made in the above bills, by inserting in the preamble the following words, "And your Majesty ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that you would *consent*, and to recommend it to us, that so much of the money remaining in your Majesty's Treasury, as should be necessary, should be applied to the discharge of the National Debt or of such part thereof as should be thought expedient by Parliament."

On the same day the Bill was read a second time.

[December 17.]

The House went into a Committee to take said Bill into consideration.

Right Honourable Thomas Carter, Esq., Master of the Rolls, Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench, and Privy Counsellor, in the Chair.

The Committee agreed to all the enacting paragraphs and title of the Bill, but disagreed to the preamble by a majority of five voices.

The proceeding of the Committee being reported immediately, the House agreed thereto, and rejected the Bill without a division.

Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto!

Teller for the Ayes,
EDMUND SEXTON PERY, ESQ.

117.

1. Right Hon. Lord George Sackville, son and principal Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Secretary at War, Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, Privy Counsellor, Clerk of the Council, and one of the Deputy Rangers of Phœnix Park, near Dublin.
2. Robert Maxwell, esq., 2d Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.
3. Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby, esq., 2nd son to the Earl of Besborough, Commissioner of His Majesty's Revenue, and Privy Councillor.
4. William Bristow, esq., Commissioner of His Majesty's Revenue.
5. John Burke, esq., Commissioner of His Majesty's Revenue, and nephew to the Speaker.
6. Hon Richard Ponsonby, esq., third son to the

Vindices Libertatis.

Teller for the Noes.
SIR RICHARD COX, Bart., Collector for Cork Port.

122.

1. Rt. Hon. Henry Boyle, esq., Chancellor of the Exchequer, Privy Councillor and Speaker.
2. Anthony Malone, esq., Prime Serjeant at Law.
3. Hon. John Caulfield, esq., one of the Clerks of the Privy Seal.
4. Cosby Nesbitt, esq., Collector of Cavan.
5. Billingham Boyle, esq., Register of the Prerogative Court, and Pensioner.
6. Michael O'Brien Dilkes, esq., Quarter-master and Barrack-master General, and brother to the Speaker.
7. Henry Gore, esq., Captain of Foot.
8. Robert Sandford, Esq., the younger, Lieutenant of Dragoons.
9. James Weyms, esq., Captain of Foot.
10. John Gore, esq., Counsel to the Commissioners of the Revenue.

Earl of Besborough, and Secretary to the Commons of His Majesty's Revenue.

7. Warden Flood, esq., Attorney General.
8. Philip Tisdall, esq., SolicitorGeneral, and Judge of the Prerogative Court.
9. Phillip Bragg, esq., Lieutenant General, Major General on the establishment, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.
10. Arthur Dobbs, esq., Governor of North Carolina.
11. Robert Burton, Esq., Colonel of the Battle-axe Guards.
12. Hon. Robert Jocelyn, esq., son and Secretary to the Lord Chancellor and Auditor General.
13. Hon. Robert Butler, Captain of the Battle-axe Guards and Pensioner.
14. David Bindon, esq., Pensioner.
15. Hon. James O'Brien, esq., Collector of Drogheda, and Pensioner.
16. Anthony Jephson, esq., Half-pay Captain.
17. Richard Tonson, esq., Collector of Baltimore.
18. John Folliott, esq., Cap-
11. Edward Malone, esq., King's Counsel.
12. Frederick Gore, esq., Clerk of the Quit Rents.
13. Robert Roberts, esq., Deputy Chief Remembrancer.
14. Henry Boyle Walsingham, esq., second son of the Speaker, Captain of a troop of Horse and Aide-de-camp to the Lord Lieutenant.
15. Gustavus Lambert, esq., Collector of Trim.
16. Richard Malone, esq., 3rd Serjeant at Law.
17. Hon. Thomas Southwell, esq., Governor and Constable of Limerick.
18. Charles Gardiner, esq., Master of the Revels.
19. Francis Macartney, esq., Captain of a Company of Foot, and late Aide-de-camp to the Lord Lieutenant.
20. Patrick Weyms, esq., Half-pay Lieutenant on the British establishment.
21. William Naper, esq., Captain of Horse.
22. Rt. Hon. James Tint, esq., Privy Counsellor.
23. Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Gore, bart., Privy Counsellor.

tain of a Regiment of foot and Governor of Ross Castle.

19. Rt. Hon. Arthur Hill, esq. Privy Counsellor.
20. Hon. Edward Brabazon, esq. Pensioner.
21. Sir Charles Burton, knt. Pensioner.
22. Hon. Bysse Molesworth, esq. Principal Clerk in Revenue Secretary's Office.
23. Hon. John Butler, esq. Joint Clerk of the Pipe.
24. Hon. Brinsley Butler, esq. Joint Clerk of the Pipe.
25. Robert Fitzgerald, esq. Collector of Mallow.
26. Sir William Fownes, bart. Packer, Searcher, and Guager, in the Port of Cork, and Son-in-law to the Earl of Besborough.
27. John Graydon, esq. Pensioner.
28. Rt. Hon. Luke Gardiner, esq. Deputy Vice-Treasurer, Privy Counsellor, and one of the Deputy Rangers of the Phœnix Park, near Dublin.
29. Boleyn Whitney, esq. Commissioner of Revenue Appeals and King's Counsel.
24. Arthur Upton, esq.
25. James Hamilton, esq.
26. Sir Edward O'Brien, bart.
27. Arthur Hyde, esq.
28. Emanuel Pigott, esq.
29. Edward Smyth, esq.
30. Sir John Freke, bart.
31. John Lysaght, esq. the Elder, Nephew to the Speaker.
32. John Lysaght, esq. the Younger, Nephew to the Speaker.
33. John Magill, esq.
34. William Harwards, esq.
35. Sir John Conway Colthurst, bart.
36. Andrew Knox, esq.
37. Sir Ralph Gore St George, bart.
38. Thomas Adderly, esq.
39. Abraham Crichton, esq.
40. Thomas Montgomery, esq.
41. Bernard Ward, esq.
42. James Stephenson, esq.
43. Alexander Hamilton, esq.
44. Sir Samuel Cooke, bart.
45. Sir Archibald Acheson, bart.
46. Robert Sandford, esq. the Elder.
47. John Cole, esq.
48. John Ayre, esq.
49. John Bingham, esq.
50. Sir Maurice Crosbie, knt.

30. Alexander Nesbitt, esq. Pensioner.
31. Anthony Marley, esq. Commissioner of Revenue Appeals and King's Counsel.
32. Thomas Tennison, esq. Commissioner of Revenue Appeals.
33. Thomas Bligh, esq. Major-General on the Establishment, and Colonel of a Regiment of Horse.
34. Robert Cunningham, esq. Captain of Foot, and late Aid-de-Camp to the Primate.
35. Owen Wynne, esq. the younger, Major of Dragoons.
36. John Wynne, esq. Captain of Foot.
37. Robert Marshall, esq. Second Sergeant at Law.
38. Right Hon. Sir Thomas Prendergast, bart. Privy Counsellor.
39. Robert Handcock, esq. Collector of Athlone.
40. Right Hon. George Lord Forbes, Lieut.-Col. of Foot.
41. Hon. Henry Loftus, esq. Clerk of Coast Permits in the Port of Dublin.
42. Walter Hore, esq. Judge-Advocate-General.
51. John Blennerhassett, esq. the Younger.
52. John Blennerhassett, esq.
53. Arthur Blennerhassett, esq.
54. William Crosbie, esq.
55. Edmund Malone, esq.
56. Sir Kildare Dixon Burrowes, bart.
57. John Digby, esq.
58. Robert Downes, esq.
59. Walter Weldon, esq.
60. Ralph Gore, esq.
61. Richard Dawson, esq.
62. Joseph Deane, esq.
63. Henry L'Estrange, esq.
64. William Gore, esq.
65. Hugh Crofton, esq.
66. Gilbert King, esq.
67. Hon. Henry Southwell, esq.
68. Edward Taylor, esq.
69. Edward Cary, esq.
70. William Scott, esq.
71. Henry Hamilton, esq.
72. Henry Cary, esq.
73. Sir Arthur Newcomen, bart.
74. Arthur Gore, esq.
75. Thomas Packenham, esq.
76. Thomas Burgh, esq.
77. Thomas Newcomen, esq.
78. Robert Parkingson, esq.
79. John Ruxton, esq.
80. John Hamilton, esq.
81. James Cuffe, esq.
82. Annesley Gore, esq.

43. Hon. Hugh Skeffington, esq. Cornet of Horse.
44. James Smyth, esq. Collector of Dublin Port.
45. John Maxwell, esq. Prothonotary of Common Pleas.
46. Eaton Stannard, esq. King's Counsel.
47. Right Hon. Hungerford Skeffington, esq. Pensioner.
48. Hon. Wm. Molesworth, Surveyor - General of King's Lands, and Pensioner.
49. Agmondisham Vesey, esq. Accountant - General and Banker.
50. Right Hon. Sir Compton Domville, bart. Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper and Privy Counsellor.
51. Nathaniel Clements, esq. Teller of the Exchequer, Ranger of the Phœnix Park, and Master of the Game.
52. John Folliott, esq. Deputy Governor of Kinsale Port.
53. William Annesley, esq.
54. Joseph Leeson, esq.
55. Robert Scott, esq.
56. Matthew Forde, esq.
57. Chambre Brabazon Ponsonby, esq. Nephew to the Earl of Besborough.
83. Arthur Francis Meredith, esq.
84. Joseph Ash, esq.
85. Chichester Fortescue, esq.
86. Gorges Lowther, esq.
87. Marcus Lowther Crofton, esq.
88. Alexander Montgomery, esq.
89. Thomas Dawson, esq.
90. Warner Westenra, esq.
91. William Henry Dawson, esq.
92. Henry Sandford, esq.
93. William Sandford, esq.
94. Thomas Mahon, esq.
95. Joshua Cooper, esq.
96. Nehemiah Donnellan, esq.
97. Richard Penefather, esq.
98. Kinsmill Penefather, esq.
99. Matthew Jacob, esq.
100. Charles Echlin, esq.
101. William Hamilton, esq.
102. Richard Vincent, esq.
103. Beverley Usher, esq.
104. Alarid Mason, esq.
105. Shapland Carew, esq.
106. John Colthurst, esq.
107. Richard Aldworth, esq.
108. George St. George, esq.
109. John Rochford, esq.
110. Cæsar Colclough, esq.
111. Robert Doyne, esq.
112. Anderson Sanders, esq.
113. Abel Ram, esq.
114. Stephen Trotter, esq.
115. Daniel Falkiner, esq.

58. Francis Leigh, esq.
59. John Graham, esq.
60. James Saunderson, esq.
61. Charles Daly, esq.
62. Robert French, esq.
63 Thomas Staunton, esq.
64. Robert Blakeney, esq.
65. Henry Bingham, esq.
66. Maurice Keating, esq.
67. Thomas Burgh, esq. Naas.
68. William Evans Morris, esq. Brother to Harvey Morris, esq.
69. Harvey Morris, esq. Son-in-law to the Earl of Besborough.
70. James Agar, esq.
71. Benjamin Bruton, esq. Son-in-law to the Earl of Besborough.
72. Sir Laurence Parsons, bart.
73. Henry Lyons, esq.
74. William Sharman, esq.
75. Eyre Evans, esq.
76. Charles Smyth, esq.
77. Richard Maunsell, esq.
78. Philip Oliver, esq.
79. Hercules Langford Rowley, esq.
80. Richard Jackson, esq.
81. Henry Bellingham, esq.
82. William Henry Fortescue, esq.
83. Thomas Fortescue, esq.
84. Anthony Foster, esq.
85. John Browne, esq.
86. Nathaniel Preston, esq.
116. Thomas Carter, esq. the Younger.
117. Robert Hickman, esq.
118. Oliver Anketell, esq.
119. Sir Richard Butler, bart.
120. Edward Bolton, esq.
121. Thomas Loftus, esq.
122. Richard Boyle, esq. eldest son to the Speaker.

87. John Preston, esq.
88. Sir Thomas Taylor, bart.
89. Thomas Taylor, esq.
90. George Evans, esq.
91. William Wall, esq.
92. Jonah Barrington, esq.
93. Owen Wynne, esq. the Elder.
94. Stephen Moore, esq. Nephew to the Earl of Besborough.
95. William Stewart, esq.
96. William Richardson, esq. Augher.
97. Samuel Barker, esq.
98. John Leigh, esq.
99. James Stopford, esq.
100. William Tighe, esq.
101. Anthony Brabazon, esq.
102. Richard Chapel Whaley, esq.
103. John Stratford, esq.
104. Charles Usher, esq.
105. Robert Percival, esq.
106. Thomas Lehunte, esq.
107. William Richardson, esq. Armagh.
108. William Brownlow, esq.
109. Hon. Geo. Hamilton, esq.
110. Sir Richard Wolseley, bart.
111. Nicholas Archdall, esq.
112. Richard Trench, esq.
113. Cromwell Price, esq.
114. Usher St. George, esq.
115. Samuel Bindon, esq.
116. Richard Gorges, esq.
117. Robert Ross, esq.

XII.

ABSENTEES OF IRELAND.

In a work by Richard Lawrence, published in 1682, entitled "The Interest of Ireland," he classes under seven heads, "the intolerable charge and expense Ireland is at by entertaining foreigners to its peculiar interest in the most profitable employment and offices." He computes what Ireland had suffered in fifteen years, from July 1662, when the Duke of Ormond first entered on the Government, till August 1677, when the Earl of Essex surrendered. He considers among others, the grants and pensions to non-residents, the farmers of the revenue, the foreign merchants, the absentees, and the chief governors, then non-resident.

"Above any of these is the stock drained out of this kingdom by absentees, which is now augmented beyond treble what it was formerly, by the great estates the adventurers possess, who, being most of them estated men in England, live there, and draw over a vast sum of money yearly: they possess of the lands of this kingdom, 787,326 acres, which valued at two shillings an acre, one with an another (much of their lands lying in the best parts of the kingdom), amounts to £78,752 12*s.* 0*d.* per annum; and it is judged the estates of His Royal Highness, the Earls of Cork, Anglesey, and Strafford, with other noblemen and gentlemen of England, by old and new titles, draw over as much more, both which, is per annum, £157,463 4*s.* 0*d.* which they spend and lay out in purchases in England, &c., which, for fifteen years, amounts to £2,361,978. So that, this drain, if no sluice can be contrived to stop its currents, must necessarily draw Ireland dry of wealth, if all the forementioned impediments were removed, which our predecessors have long groaned under, and several strict laws have been made to prevent it. As in the 3rd year of Richard II., Sir John Davies

gives an account of an ordinance made in England, against such as were absent from their lands in Ireland, which gave two-thirds of their profits to the King, till they returned to Ireland, or placed a sufficient number of Englishmen to defend the same; which, saith he, was grounded upon good reasons of state, and was put in execution many years after, as appeareth by sundry seizures made thereupon in time of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., whereof there remain records in the Remembrancer's Office here; and amongst the rest, the Duke of Norfolk himself was not spared, but impleaded upon their ordinance for two parts of the profits of his estate; and afterwards himself, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Berkeley and others, who had lands in Ireland, kept their continual residence in England, were entirely re-assumed by the Act of Absentees, made the 28th year of King Henry VIII."—*Sir John Davies*, p. 199. "And though it might seem hard these laws should now be executed, yet it is harder a nation should be ruined; and if themselves be necessarily trained in His Majesty's service, or by their greater concerns in England, *yet why they should not confide their interest in this kingdom to their younger sons, &c., or be engaged some way to spend a good part of their rents here*, is not easily answered, unless private men's interests be to be preferred before the public, for this is a burden this kingdom will not be long able to bear—a consumption great enough to beggar rich England, much more poor Ireland."

A list of absentees is also to be found in "Remarks on Affairs and Trade of England and Ireland," London, 1691. The author divides the list of absentees into three parts.

1st. Rents of lands belonging to persons that wholly, or for the most part, live in England	£91,652
2nd. Persons resident in England, receiving pensions out of the Irish Revenue, in 1625, and since....	10,366
3rd. Miscellaneous remittances	34,000
	£136,018

In 1721, Thomas Prior, a worthy and patriotic individual, made out another list, published in Dublin, with Observations

on the State and Trade of Ireland. "A list of lords, gentlemen, and others, who, having estates, employments and pensions in Ireland, spend the same abroad; also a yearly value of the same as taken in the months of May, June, and July, 1729."

"1st Class. Those who live continually abroad.

"2nd. Those who live generally abroad, and visit Ireland for a month, or two.

"3rd. Those who live generally in Ireland, but occasionally for health, pleasure, or business."

The total amounted to—1st Class	£204,200
2nd ditto	91,800
3rd ditto	54,000
and, with other sums, amounting to about	669,000

In 1779, Mr. Arthur Young, in his Appendix to his "Tour in Ireland," set forth a list which made the amount 732,000*l.* annually; but one more perfect than any, was an alphabetical one printed in 1782, which, including those who had pensions on the Irish Establishment, and this amounted to 2,223,222*l.*

Newenham, in his "Essay on Population," in 1805, page 170, says, the actual remittance to absentees did not fall short of 3,000,000*l.*; and in the publications of the Society for the Improvement of Ireland, it is calculated in 1828 to amount to upwards of 4,000,000*l.*

XIII.

BARATARIA.

Key to the History of Barataria, written by Sir Hercules Langrishe.

Sancho.	Lord Townshend, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
Goreannelli.	Lord Annaly, Lord Chief Justice.
Don Francisco Andrea del Bumperoso.	Right Hon. Francis Andrews, Prov. T. C. D.
Don Georgio Buticartny.	Sir George Macartney, Secretary.
Don Antonio.	Rt. Hon. Anthony Malone.
Don John Alnagero.	Rt. Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, Prime Sergeant.
Don Philip.	Rt. Hon. Philip Tisdall, Attorney-General.
Count Loftonzo.	Lord Loftus, now Earl of Ely.
Don John.	Right Hon. John Ponsonby, Speaker of the House of Commons.
Don Helena.	Robert Helen, esq. Judge.
Donna Dorothea del Monroso.	Miss Monroe.
Don Godfredo Lilly.	Godfrey Lill, esq.
The Duke Fitzroyola.	Duke of Grafton.
Cardinal Lapidaro.	The late Primate Stone.
The Bishop of Toledo.	Dr. Jemmett Browne, late Bishop of Cork.
Don Edward Swanzero.	Edward Swan.
Don Alexandro Cuningambo del Tweedalero.	Surgeon Cunningham.
Donna Lavinia.	Lady St. Leger.
Don Richardo.	Richard Power, esq.
Rafarmo.	Rathfarnham, the residence of Lord Ely, near Dublin.

BARATARIA.*

The last assembly of the States, immediately after they had granted government an augmentation of military strength, and supplies of unusual magnitude, were summoned before the awful tribunal of Sancho, where they were reviled, insulted, and discharged. They were discharged, without having been permitted to deliberate on any ordinance of public concern, or exercise one power of legislation, excepting only that of munificence and taxation. It was in vain the voice of the people echoed from every quarter of the kingdom, complaining that the reward of their liberality had been a privation of their rights, and that Parliament had been discontinued, because government had been satisfied. The deputies of the people had been beyond all example bountiful—but their crime was, that their resolutions were construed to *imply* an opinion, that these bounties being the bounties of the people, *their* deputies were more competent to proportion and ascertain them, than the deputies of *Government*, which was only to accept them, and accept them with gratitude. Sancho sat in his castle, or cottage (for his habitations, as his habits, were various) superior to any sense of the evils he had occasioned, or the injuries he had inflicted. The decay of trade, the ruin of public credit, the violation of private engagements, the doubt of every good man, the distrust of all, were the objects and the means of his administration. If he could break the resolution of the virtuous, and disappoint the confidence of honourable engagements, he thought that in the end he might defeat all laudable association, and by bursting the bonds of affinity and connexion, by degrees, dissolve all ties to the country.

There was a man in Barataria, whose name was Henrico, the Count Loftonzo, a man high in rank, eminent in possessions, who inherited the great qualifications of a numerous following; but in early life so humble had been his condition, that a connexion with an illustrious family was scarcely able to preserve his person from obscurity, or his circumstances from indigence. The near relations of affinity seemed to have had a laudable

* The history of Lord Townshend's Government in Ireland—his Protest, and Prorogation of Parliament.

direction, when for a course of years they had been employed in furnishing shelter to the man in Barataria who most stood in need of it. Don John, a chief of high rank and an illustrious house, had long enjoyed the first power and most extensive influence in Barataria. To this person the Count had united himself in early life, before wealth and honours had directed their current towards him; and whilst as yet fortune continued to frown, where nature had frowned before. Don John was a man who to *eminent* qualities added unusual *softness* of soul. He recollected, that Henrico was his kinsman, which is a circumstance amongst the ties of humanity. He was poor and John had compassion on him. He was friendless and he acknowledged him. He therefore employed his powerful interposition, to procure a subsistence from the state for Henrico. And even condescended to attend to female infirmity, so far as by a public stipend to enable his wife to purchase certain silken apparel, and play at certain costly games, which, though they were above her rank and fortune, were not above her ambition or her vanity. Thus it happened that Henrico had faithfully adhered to Don John, whilst the latter had *power*, or the former *wanted protection*. But when Sancho commenced his attack on the freedom of Barataria, by depriving her of the Cortes, Henrico, through the wantonness of fortune, had become enriched by great possessions, distinguished by honours and fortified by powerful dependencies. Sancho judged that as Henrico no longer stood in need of assistance, he no longer remembered the assistance he had received. He applied himself to the Count, and besought him, " to cast away from his mind all idle obligations, and separate himself from all connexion with Don John, his kinsman,—that he should not conform his conduct to the dictates of gratitude, lest it might appear to be the result of dependance,—that he should join and associate his *great powers*, his *great connexions*, his *honourable* name, his *high abilities*, his *personal fortitude*, and *captivating manners*, with the court of Barataria, under the direct influence and immediate superintendence of the Spanish ministry. Thus that the *honours* of old Spain, and the *plunder* of Barataria would dignify him, and maintain his *dependants*.

Thus far had the artifice of Sancho applied itself to the *wean-*

ness and *vanity* of Henrico. And though this address was in itself likely to be crowned with success, yet as the friends of Barataria were not to be indulged with one cast on the die in their favour, matters of *probability only* were rejected, as insufficient authorities for entering upon the great project of Sancho's administration.

Absurdity and ambition, 'tis true, had occupied a fair proportion of the mind of Henrico, yet did it likewise entertain several humbler guests, amongst which the historians of his day have enumerated a *perception of danger*. Great as his possessions were, the tenure was precarious. They were not the *rights of inheritance*, nor the *acquirements of purchase;* but we rather consider them as enjoyed under the title of conquest. The rightful heir had, as historians relate, been disappointed by the testament of the late Count Loftonzo Hume-Eli, over whose imbecility Henrico so far triumphed, as to compel him to a surrender of his maternal demesnes into the hands even of Henrico himself. But still, though the enjoyment of those possessions was delightful, the duration of that enjoyment appeared to the fears of Henrico as capable of doubt. The free-will gifts of captivity, and the disposing powers of mental incapacity were matters at which the laws might cavil.

This apprehension in the mind of Henrico was to be a new key to his conversion; for the management of which an instrument entirely proportioned to the purpose had been selected.

There was at that time in Barataria a man named *Philip*, who was by birth a Moor, by profession an advocate. He was become the first companion and counsellor of Sancho; into the dark repository of whose bosom did he pour the sallies of his jocularity, and the secrets of his administration. Don Philip was likewise *General Attorney* of the States, and Judge of the Testamentary Court.

Whether we consider the qualities he had, or those he had not, we find him alike accomplished for the present undertaking. He was a man formed by nature, and fashioned by long practice for all manner of court intrigue. His stature was low, so as to excite neither envy nor observation, his countenance dismal, his public manners grave, and his address humble. But as in public he covered his prostitution by a solemnity of car-

riage, so in private he endeavoured to *captivate* by convivial humour; and to discountenance all public virtue, by the exercise of a perpetual, and sometimes not unsuccessful irony.

By these arts he recommended himself to the late Cardinal Lapidaro, and Don Thomaso del Cartero; the two most crafty statesmen—the De Retz and Machiavel of their age; under whom he studied, and against whom *at times* he exercised the mystery of politics.

To these qualifications Don Philip added an extraordinary magnificence of living. His table was furnished with every thing that splendour could suggest, or luxury consume; and his profusion and policy united to solicit a multitude of guests. To his house then resorted all those who wished *through him* to obtain, or to learn *from him* to enjoy without remorse, those public emoluments which are the purchase of public infidelity.

Amongst the visitors of Don Philip was a youth, hitherto of fair fame and gentle endowments—Don Helena the civilian—who lately had accepted the office of menial counsellor to Loftonzo. Through him therefore a new communication was to be opened with the Count.

Thus by an unsuspected channel were new terrors added to the natural timidity of Henrico. He was informed "that the title to his extensive territory depended on a testament, the validity of which was determinable within Don Philip's jurisdiction. That by adhering to old engagements and national regards, he would forfeit that *friendly disposition* in his judge, which is so necessary to *equal* justice. That the final adjudication of this great cause resided in the Supreme Assembly of the grandees in Spain, where Sancho had a suffrage; which suffrage the Count might ensure or alienate, as his conduct should be friendly or hostile to his government in Barataria. That in times of simplicity and ignorance, the Spanish nobles had restrained their judgments within the rigid precepts of law, and the austerities of justice; but that of late, refinement of manners had broken through those harsh restrictions, and legal severity yielded to the softer influence of favour and affection."

He proceeded to pour into the ears of the Count instances of this high refinement in the grandees of Spain; and one especially, which had fallen even within the limited knowledge of

Loftonzo himself, *the late decision in favour of the Count Pomfretto, respecting the collieries of Andalusia.*

These arguments made a sufficient impression on the mind of Henrico. But Sancho having particular reason to know how little reliance is to be had on the promises of fear, or the attachments of infidelity, thought that no security had been taken for the allegiance of the Count, whilst there yet remained any further bond, whereby to render the tie indissoluble. The considerations of fame and fortune had been notably discussed and dexterously reconciled. And though views of ambition and interest had gained ground on the mind of Loftonzo, there was another power that held the dominion of his soul.

The Countess, his consort, was a lady of singular spirit and magnanimity, and though her birth and fortune had been beneath mediocrity, yet did she possess a stately and aspiring mind, which taught her to forget the humility of her origin. She preserved that sovereign authority over the Count, which gave satisfaction to every advocate for *female pre-eminence*—she was his superior in capacity—she was his superior as his creditor. For the Countess had *legal* demands upon her lord, which though he was crowned with wealth and honours, he was yet unable to discharge; thus his subjection was the subjection of an insolvent debtor. The Countess therefore had been compelled to transfer her thoughts of posterity, and the reversions of her grandeur, to her niece *Donna Dorothea Del Monroso.* And here—did the gravity of history and importance of the subject admit it—here could we rest for pages, from the travel of story, and indulge the purest rapture in contemplating the perfections of this lovely maiden. Her stature was majestic, but her air and demeanour was *nature itself.* The peculiar splendour of her carriage was softened and subdued by the most affable condescension; and as sensibility gave a lustre to her eye, so discretion gave a security to her heart. And indeed whilst her charms inspired universal rapture, the authority of her innocence regulated and restrained it. *The softest roses that ever youth and modesty poured out on beauty, glowed in the lip of Dorothea. Her cheeks were the bloom of Hebe, and the purity of Diana was in her breast.* Never did beauty appear so amiable,

nor virtue so adorned, as in this incomparable virgin! In her progress through the courts of Arragon and Navarre she had been exhibited to the princes of the continent, and returned in the possession of humble manners. Several had solicited her in marriage, but the refined policy of her protectors always interposed against her, and reserved her to become the *innocent* instrument of a national evil. But let us not be supposed to glance a thought against your purity, lovely Dorothea! Whatever be your fortune, or wherever you go, you will *retain yourself*. If in public splendour and exalted station; you will carry with you humility and moderation—if inauspicious destiny sink you to the rank of humble condition, your beauties will adorn, and your virtues dignify your retreat!

3. Sancho, some time after his arrival in Barataria, sustained an heavy affliction; which was attended with one notable peculiarity—that of being the single instance, wherein the sentiments of the Baratarians and their Governor had been united or similar. Death had deprived him of the Baroness Feraro, his consort—a lady of high birth and fortune, adorned by the most eminent virtues and amiable manners. Wherever her influence could extend, it was the influence of benefaction—and where her power could not *gratify*, her affability *conciliated*. To her lord she left every thing to lament—she was the splendour of his station; she was the solace of his *hours of sobriety*—and if any thing like refinement grew about his palace or his person, it was the hand of the Baroness that planted it there.

And here must we give the praises which are due to the generosity and candour of the people of Barataria. At this time, though they saw that the constitution of their country had been invaded, their commerce destroyed, and their condition desperate—yet did they here forget *themselves*, and cast away from their minds all sense of *their injuries*. Here, generous compassion suspended their just resentments. Here, their lamentations were poured out at the tomb of departed excellence, and here did they mingle their tears with the tears of their undoer. And indeed the history of all ages have represented those benevolent islanders as a people zealous to bear testimony to superior merit, wherever they have found it—whether amongst adver-

saries, or friends—in the camp of the enemy, or the *laurels of a competitor*. On this event they lamented, that so much virtue had *departed*—that so little had been *left behind*.

Though this was matter of sincere concern to Sancho's heart, it however became a new circumstance of power to his administration. The first station in female pre-eminence was now unoccupied; and there was a vacancy, as it were, in the first office under the governor—even a participation of the *throne of vicegerency*.

As this was the *first office* open to female ambition, it is not to be wondered at, that the Countess Loftonzo was the first to aspire at it. She communicated the phrenzy of this sentiment to the Count; adding, in an extacy of grandeur, "that the world should see her niece, Donna Dorothea del Monroso, raise her head above the proudest families of the island—that she would sustain with *dignity*, and embellish by her *accomplishments*, the vacant chair in the Chamber of Carousals." And, thus far indeed, the Countess had spoken the language of truth, and our vows should have accompanied hers to Heaven, were the accomplishment of them to be the felicity of Dorothea. But, lovely maiden, may your charms never be bartered in unwarrantable traffic! May fortune or artifice never place you in a station to which the most refined attachment shall not select you! May you fill the high rank to which your bright endowments give you title; but never become the *splendid* mourner of a parent's ambition! Sancho saw this extravagance growing in the mind of the Countess, and determined to cultivate it. Every thing that *incoherent sentences* and a *distracted manner* could suggest, was accepted by the Countess, as confirmation of her wishes; a *natural perplexity, and embarrassment of elocution*, were *the confusion of real passion;* and *ambiguous inference*, as it was unintelligible, was supposed to convey a *solemn declaration of love*.

This, however, was sufficient to satisfy the mind of the Countess; and therefore Sancho obtained the object of his industry. He saw not, it is true, the roses in the cheek of Dorothea, but he enumerated the suffragans in the train of Loftonzo. As to the Countess, her imagination was on fire! It already presented to her her niece, the incomparable Dorothea, crowned *Vice-*

queen of the Island of Barataria; her Lord Loftonzo distinguished by all the coronets of all his ancestry; and the *Deputyship* of the island conferred on him, at the departure of Sancho. Every thing was accomplished in her ardent mind; and sports and pastimes—tilts and tournaments—dance and festivity, were proclaimed throughout the castle and the forests of Rafarmo. The smile of Dorothea was to be the prize of chivalry; and her hand in the dance, the trophy of the governor's pre-eminence!

Thus were the politics of Sancho brought to a fair issue. His confidence in the Count was not now written in *the Sand of Promises*, or the *frail memorial of benefits conferred*;—it was now built upon a rock. The bonds of Loftonzo were links of iron.

At this critical season, letters came to Sancho from the government of Spain, full of warlike rumours, and threatening general commotions. These letters brought intelligence, "That the monarch of the Western Isles had declared war against Don Francisco Bucarelli, the Governor of Buenos Ayres; and that as the court of Spain might possibly assist and avow Don Francisco, it was necessary that Barataria should be rendered defensible; her armies augmented, her forts repaired, and her garrisons supplied with the necessaries of war."

Sancho wrote a dispatch to the Viscount Boreoso, Prime Minister of Spain (of whose character and conduct we shall hereafter have occasion more fully to treat) which he sealed with his own hand, and which he committed to the conveyance of Don Edwardo Swanzero, his friend, his counsellor, and his musician. And, however unaccountable it may seem to posterity, certain it is, that of all Sancho's retainers, this Swanzero held the greatest share in his confidence. *He* was then chosen to be the trusty messenger; and as the winds were adverse at the capital, he was obliged to take the southern circuit, and embark for Spain at the port of O'Corko—with the strictest injunctions, however, to yield to no temptations of delay, nor even to pay a one-night's visit to the old Bishop of *Toledo*, whose villa was within a league of O'Corko; notwithstanding the partialities and favours with which this Right Rev. Prelate had been accustomed to entertain the *family* of Swanzero.

In this letter he informed the Viscount, "That through the obstinacy of the feudal lords and Don John the Commoner, the country of Barataria had been reduced to poverty and tumult; that the revenues were diminished, the exchequer almost bankrupt, and government had neither legal authority nor public confidence, to enable them to borrow money. That, for his part, he had acted as became a faithful servant and a prudent governor, in this season of scarcity and discredit. That he had stopped payment of the pensions to the widows of the deceased officers, and withheld the wages of all public artificers. That this instance of frugality and moderation, had again enabled the royal munificence to take its course, which was a *current* that, under the auspices of his Majesty's arm, no opposition—no pleas of incapacity or famine, should ever obstruct or retard. That the Princess Dowager of Naples had been *gratified*, by the grant of a considerable pension to her favourite, Don Jeremiah Dysonzo; not only to himself, but to his *posterity*; notwithstanding *the solemnity of the royal word, pledged to the contrary*. And that he had taken this opportunity of informing the Baratarians, once for all, *that the power of a monarch would be low indeed, if his promises were to be considered, as restrictions on his will*. That a stipend on Barataria had rewarded the fidelity and service of Don Bradshozo, the friend and assistant, the scrivener and the slave of the Duke Fitzroyola; a nobleman who shall transmit his name with honour to posterity, as the great author of that illustrious policy, which finally transferred to the *Cortes*, those rights of election, which formerly resided in, and frequently divided, *the people*." That, without boasting of his services, (for he was not vain!) he must further inform the Viscount, "That where any of the great offices in Barataria produced enormous stipends to the occupier, and no benefit to the public, he had thought it necessary to his Majesty's honour and service, that there should be a proper augmentation of the salary, and that he had accordingly made an annual addition of four thousand crowns to the salary of one of the king's servants, as a reward and indemnification for his trouble and expense, in collecting a revenue, the whole of which had by royal grant, become his own property. That after such acts of *public service*, not even the stoppages made

on widows, and the infirm; the deduction of wages, and economy towards the poor, were yet sufficient to furnish government with the means of fortifying the island. That if war was *probable*, money was *indispensable;* and that supplies could, *at that time*, be only procured by calling the Cortes together; *as delicacy and reserve ought to recommend the beginning of every great project; and as the people were not yet entirely reconciled to the idea of being taxed only by the private council of the monarch.* That in order to render the convention of the national assembly practicable, and its consequences auspicious, the great Count Loftonzo, with his household, enlisted under the royal banner—and that, as the Count's fortitude and fidelity were to be suspected, he should take all precautions to prevent his *desertion;* that, during the truce, he would have him narrowly watched in his castle; and, in the day of trial, he would place him and his retainers in the front of the battle. And thus, by exhibiting this *glaring* instance of apostacy, should he give such a wound to the credit of all private faith and public consistency, the bonds of honour, of gratitude, and of blood, as must ultimately tend to dissolve all those obstinate connexions, which have hitherto been an obstruction to the power of the crown."

The spirited endeavours of Sancho to propagate private perfidy, and purchase the violation of public trusts, were not indeed confined to the noblemen of Rafarmo. The whole powers of seduction were now employed against the country. To every man who had a vote in the Cortes, was offered that proportion of the public plunder, at which even his own partiality could estimate his own merit. Every office had been exposed to sale, the possessor of which was suspected from his integrity, or unmanageable from his independent spirit. New Boards were held out to the interested; and to obtain titles and honours, it was only necessary *to be vain and to be venal.* Even holy bishoprics themselves, hitherto held sacred and unsaleable, were to be taxed with simonical annuities to purchase the surrender of civil offices, or hawked about the island, as a merchandize in traffic to any power or connexion, that was enabled to become purchaser, by a property of votes in the assembly of the people.

And not only the vices, but the virtues of the people were made instruments against them; for, as avarice is ever rapaci-

ous and ambition aspiring, so *generosity* is but too often necessitous, and *benevolence* deluded by a glimpse of power to display itself. The administration of justice through the sheriffs of the several counties, was to be bought and sold by parliamentary conduct; and the army was stationed either for insult or protection, as favour or resentment disposed the arrangement.

Never did the mysteries of corruption make such a progress as at this period. The possessions of the incorruptible—the reversions of old age—the offices of those who had been purchasers by service, but were not of the senate, even the slender support of tottering infirmity, were all bartered and sold to those, who had the resolution to *sacrifice their country*.

And here we should be happy, in reciting the catalogue of the seduced and the undone,—of those who stooped their heads to corruption, and opened their hands to gain. Happy should we be if the base and ignoble, the desperate of condition, and the lost to fame were alone to be found!

Whilst this traffic was carried on in Barataria, unfortunately it was the only trade which at this time the country had to boast of, the balance of which commerce, being indeed against them, was likely to be *the loss of their liberty*.

During this great investigation of resources, and play of politics,—when the fore-tellers for administration counted a majority of twenty against their country; it came to pass that the king of the islands struck his flag to Don Francisco Bucarelli; and therefore the Governor of Buenos Ayres condescended to accept a temporary accommodation, which had been proposed between them.

The assembling the Cortes in Barataria was not now *necessary*, on the principle of preservation; but it was judged *expedient* on the construction of policy. The triumph of the Crown over the constitutional dignity of that great assembly, and the people of which it was representative, was thought by the jealous friends of power, as imperfect and incompetent, until it should be reconvened *before the very Governor*, who had been the immediate instrument of the injuries and insults they had received. Sancho's heart was devoted to the idea of adding this wreath to the laurels of America, and, indeed, it was a

heart composed of the most extraordinary materials in nature! But as we shall hereafter in the course of this history, give posterity an entire portrait of this wonderful character, we shall for the present proceed to relate those several parts of his conduct, which are but so many *features* of the great *piece* we shall attempt to draw.

Inspired with the noble ambition of deciding finally, if possible, this great constitutional point against the freedom of Barataria, and of *insulting* where he had *detracted;* Sancho assembled the venerable junto of the cabinet, and stating to them his *determination*, he desired their *counsel.*

The members of this political conclave were persons of the first offices in the state, whose advice had always the greatest *authority* with the Governor, as it was always accompanied with the greatest *acquiescence.* And as we may hereafter in the progress of this national story have frequent occasion to consider them, we shall here give an enumeration of them in detail.

This council consisted of Baron Goreanelli, *an Italian*, the Inquisitorial Justiciary,——Don Francisco Andrea del Bumperoso, President of the Academy of Letters; and the Chevalier Don Georgio Buticartny, a Polish Knight; admitted as a Secretary, *not a Minister.* Don Antonio, the Precedenza-—Don John Alnagero, prime Advocate.—Don Philip, the Moor, and Don Godfredo Lilly, Solicitor of the Crown.

Before this great assembly did Sancho open this mighty project of his soul. He spoke to them, through the mouth of Don Philip, and informed them, "in the first place, *of the success of his Majesty's bribes all over the island.* He told them of his determination to call the assemblies *before himself*, as a means of degrading the Commons, and asserting the authority of his own *protest.* That it would be an experiment without hazard; as it was not the season for asking any thing *on his part*, and the virtue of a prorogation was ever at hand, to prevent any acquisition in behalf of the people. That as things stood at present, it appeared improbable that the Spanish court would continue *him* in the government of the island, when the critical time should come, in which the army and the revenues were to be negotiated in the Cortes; unless he were to exhibit

some antecedent exemplifications of his prowess. That the success of this short convention might render probable his retaining the dominion of the island for another year. But above all, that the manly protest, with which he concluded the last meeting, was not perfect or consummate, being as yet the declaration of *one of the parties only*, and rejected from the journals of the other. Whereas, if the Commons could be *brought* to pour out their incense, and load him with encomiums; it would be deemed, that they relinquished their claims with their resentments; and their conduct would imply not merely an *acquiescence*, but a formal *ratification* of the charge which, he boasted to have brought against them. Moreover, that the great Count Loftonzo, was deeply impressed with those sentiments; and that if promises, made without limitation, recommended by oaths, and confirmed by *some* performances, were capable of seducing the heart of man, a majority should be procured to deliver up this fortress into the hands of the Crown. And, finally, that Don Renaldo, the grand Corregidor of the capital, was devoted to the interests of the court; and would easily obtain from the oppidary assembly, an address to the Sovereign, petitioning for a general convention of the states. And at the same time, the faithful Renaldo should have the precaution, by the tenor of this address, to renounce every constitutional title in the people to the Cortes. That it should be asked as a *favour*, not a right. That it should be *supplication* and not *claim*. Thus, the meeting of the Senate, which really would be a political experiment, and a probable confirmation of the bondage of Barataria, would be trumpeted through the kingdom, as if it were a *gracious benevolence, yielded to the petition of duty—a royal concession to the wishes of the people.*"

Whatever different pursuits, or objects in life, may have governed the sentiments of the several persons who composed this conclave, certain it is, that there was scarcely one of them, who had not an interest in the assembling the Cortes, at all events. It would be the *harvest*, and they were *labourers*. It would be the *time of service;* and, though their *standing wages* were exorbitant, yet did they, *moreover*, expect to receive *daily hire*, and *occasional booty*. The servants of the law might be appointed itinerant justices, but suffered neither to *travel*, nor

to *judge;* in short, to do no part of the duty, but accept the emolument; and Baron Goreannelli, the Italian, imagined that by *being ready* to assist the Prolocutor of the nobles, he might, perhaps, ground a sort of claim to wages, though his services were neither demanded, performed, or expedient.

Among those chiefs of consultation, *one* only gave counsel against this favourite measure, Don Antonio, the Precedenza; a man of great consideration! And, indeed, it is impossible to mention that personage in the page of history, without stopping to make some observation on so extraordinary a character.

Nature had enriched the Precedenza with great endowments. To a benign and dignified aspect, an address, both conciliating and authoritative, did he join the clearest head that ever conceived, and the sweetest tongue that ever uttered, the suggestions of wisdom. He did not, it is true, possess the wit and vivacity of Alnagero, nor the political craft or worldly science of Don Philip, *the Moor;* but his understanding was of the first magnitude. It is, however, observable of Don Antonio; that, with all those eminent faculties, he never, during the course of a long political life, was united with a party that did not deceive him; and with a temper of mind, unfortunately but too desirous of acquisition, did he share less of the public treasure than almost any man, who had ever looked for favours at the hand of power. For some part of his life, he filled one of the highest offices in judgment; which he executed with such ability, as stands unparalleled in the records of judicature. And as he was raised to that office *for his capacity*, he was dispossessed of it *for his virtue.* With a manly and becoming spirit did Antonio, at this time, stand foremost, in difference with the Crown. He *disputed* that wicked encroachment, which would strip the representatives of the community of their natural and indispensable rights of *originating*, *adjusting* and *proportioning* those supplies, which are ever the free-will gifts of gratitude and love, to protection and government. Though this act of *resistance*, as it is called, did not fall within the exercise of his *judicial capacity*, yet, as it was an act of *integrity*, it was thought by the court as a disqualification in him for the office of a judge. He was, therefore, dismissed, and a man *better qualified* was appointed to succeed him.

And here should we be happy, if, for the honour of human nature, and the reverence we bear to this illustrious person, we were permitted to pass over the recital of some features which render this piece less admirable!—Happy! if the eminent qualities of this great man did not mix with others in their current, which were sufficient to humble his superiority, and gratify the malice of his enemies. But *character* would be uninstructive to posterity, if it were not to be *fully* delineated: and history a falsehood, if it declare not the *whole* truth.

Though the effects of an enlightened understanding made Antonio perpetually prefer right to wrong; though he had no children to provide for, and already enjoyed considerable estates; nay, even though some writers have asserted, that he had not the avarice of accumulation, and certainly he had not the necessities of prodigality; though he had the mines of Golconda in the exercise of his profession; yet did he sacrifice every thing that was valuable, to an invincible and unaccountable thirst for gain; and descended from his eminence of character and condition, to the exercise of a low money-traffic; in which even he is accused, by the writers of his day, of having employed that very *legal* knowledge, which had lately been the honour of his name, and the benefit of the public, in order to defend the bills that he issued, from the control of the laws; and frustrate the security which the public had in his counter.* And afterwards, having made some atonement to his country, by a spirited resistance to the Cabinet subsidy, he, as it were, relented of his reformation, and merely to obtain from Government a *precedency*, which nature had given him before, and which the King could not take from him. For this preposterous promotion, if such it may be called, did he in the popular assembly, and in the face of the people, not only embrace, but adopt the very child, he before declared to be illegitimate and infamous. He now protected that subsidy in the Cortes, which he before had so signally abjured in the Cabinet.

And, indeed, it was a matter of great wonder at that time, that a person of his wisdom should so suddenly shift an opinion; that one of his dignity of character should adopt inconsistency and degradation, and that a man of the most unparalleled

* This part of the character is supposed to be erroneous.

powers of memory should so speedily forget the injuries he had received.

As for his eloquence, it was in its nature peculiar. It flowed in a clear and copious stream, with grace and majesty; but it never diversified its course, or transgressed its limited boundary. Through the several regions of argument, it moved with unaltered current, whether it passed through the wilds of America, or the flowery plains of Andalusia: good sense, and great comprehension, were the characters of his mind, rather than that strength, and ardour, and variety, which glow in the performances of the ancient orators. He was formed to be *the first*, perhaps, in times of tranquillity, but must have yielded to several, in the days of spirit and of enterprise. In short, he was a person almost always to be admired, but never much to be feared.

And, indeed, various inconsistencies and irreconcileable qualities, seemed to mix in the character of this great man. It is not enough to say, that he had a mind superior to revenge or personal resentment. He appeared to have been inspired, as it were, with gratitude for injuries. As to his legal knowledge, it was incontrovertible; yet, from some peculiarity which ever attended him, certain it is, that even the titles at law, to the very lands he purchased, have been reckoned disputable and precarious. With the *best* understanding, he was generally the dupe of the *worst*; and though he had a natural admiration for virtue, yet did he sometimes forsake her, even without temptation.

Here we rest this great character!—And we should rejoice indeed, if historical fidelity had not compelled us to state some shades of it, at which humanity may drop a tear of sympathy; and lament that imperfection of our nature, which ever controls the arrogance of superiority, and vindicates, in some measure, the equality of man.

Don Antonio was marked, it is true, by some of the infirmities of human-kind, but he was distinguished, on the other hand, by great and admirable qualities. Let not then the insolence of human frailty refuse forgiveness to the former; and may posterity remember *only the latter*, and remember them *as objects of imitation!*

Don Antonio paid the utmost attention to the whole recital of Sancho's politics. And, indeed, amongst the several peculiarities of Antonio, this one was observable, "That as no man ever spoke so well as to excite his admiration, so no man ever spoke so ill as that he did not think him worthy of attention." He listened profoundly to the discourse of *every man;* he listened to the sleepy tale of Don Philip the Moor.

When this elaborate recapitulation of principles and politics was brought to a conclusion, Don Antonio did not require much time for weighing its import and consequences. He saw clearly that the rashness of Sancho was not courage, nor the craft of Don Philip wisdom. He thought the convention of the Cortes, *at that particular time*, was liable to objections, which would occur, perhaps, at no other season. He therefore gave counsel against it. He observed, "That, though the populace frequently misjudge, the great body of the people are not often, or long deceived. That on the present occasion they never would be persuaded that the convening this assembly a few months only before the regular and indispensable season of convention, after it had been interrupted in the midst of business, and discontinued for above a year, was any other than *an act of state policy*. That the mere power of reviving or continuing a few laws, without time or opportunity to alter or amend them, was in truth a small national concern; especially as this meeting would interfere with the itinerary progress of justice, and the season of the great session was so near at hand, in which there must be ample time afforded for all that enquiry and deliberation, which alone could give weight and authority to laws. That the very assembling of the states would in itself terminate the duration of several laws, which would otherwise remain in force. That if the court were to be victorious, the nation would be alarmed, and if the popular party were to predominate, those laws would become extinct, and administration would be overturned. That to call the assembly together, in order to appropriate the disposition of that sum, which had formerly been granted to public works, would now be absurd; as the money was not in existence, at least in the exchequer; and that, though the states were to grant it, yet the Crown could not pay it. And above all, that this extorted convention, as it

would be thought, must certainly revive amongst the representative body, that *bitter argument*, with which they had departed, but not departed in peace. That if the accustomed offerings of the Cortes to the throne, should not convey *encomium on the governor*, Sancho would be degraded. If they did, they would impeach themselves. But that at all events, those matters of delicacy were best decided by oblivion. Moreover, that the treasury was entirely exhausted; and therefore he knew not by what means the governor could purchase the support he expected, excepting by promises. That if those promises were performed, the slender resources of government would be wasted. If they were broken, the credit of power would be lost. That experiment in those weighty concerns was dangerous. The best result is *tumult;* the worst, *destruction*. That if his recommendatory speech from the throne of majesty were to *disclaim* supplies, it would contradict the necessities of the state; if it *professed* them, the people would say, *they were never to be assembled, but to be plundered;* and if it were to be equivocal, it would offend all parties. The Crown would resent his casting a doubt on the necessity; the nation would resent his casting a fraud on their security. That though it was an hopeless project to attempt pleasing all parties, it was yet *exceedingly* unwise to satisfy none." Thus, in substance, did the Precedenza argue with the thoughtless, and counsel the determined. Sancho seemed to have accidentally heard *a part* of this harangue, and answered *the whole* of it with his *usual* precision. He observed, "That every sentence which had fallen from the lips of Antonio was the language of wisdom, that his argument was the argument of conviction; and that he would accordingly appoint the assemblage of the Cortes, for the twenty-sixth day of the next moon." He extolled his eloquence, and observed, "that it brought back to his mind the remembrance of a dear, departed brother;" but here he instantly wiped away a tear, that nature had rashly engendered, and inadvertency tolerated; and yielded to the current of his mind, which ever flowed towards untimely merriment. He observed, "that *General* Antonio (for so he was pleased jocularly to call him) had oftentimes differed from him in the *court martial*, that he had frequently counselled against hazarding an engagement, yet, had however behaved

like a good old soldier in the day of battle; though his hand did not, *at all times*, strike with the vigour of youth, yet he never failed to promote obedience and discipline, and maintain *order* and *government*, by his countenance and example."

To these arguments Don Antonio paid that reverence which is due to *wisdom;* that submission which is yielded to *power.* Several other members were preparing to deliver their sentiments at large, and pay the debt which they owed *to their own fortunes*, by recommending that purpose, which omnipotence had already decided. And certain it is, that when Sancho had once taken his unalterable determination, though counsel seemed to become less necessary, it, however, became much more pleasant to him to receive it, and advantageous to him who had the discretion to offer it. For when the chief has once *explained* his sentiments, there can no longer remain doubt or debate amongst the counsellors. Then stern advice assumes the softer breath of compliment; and the discharge of duty is nothing more than the effusions of admiration and panegyric. And, indeed, though no office is in general more doubtfully received than that of giving counsel, yet the man is for ever recommended by some secret magic, who turns back on the person he advises, the reflected image of his own thoughts and affections.

Don John Alnagero, the prime advocate, being a man of a ready and dexterous wit, and a copious vocabulary, arose to make an offering of his sentiments on the occasion; and after having administered to his infirmity *a cordial*, which he retained in a dram-bottle, *for the purposes of debate, according to precedent of the first authority;* he proceeded to state the great *importance* of the question under consideration: and it is generally imagined he would have made a very eloquent speech, had he not been violently interrupted by a sudden outrage of vociferation, which issued even from the throne of vice-majesty, scattering through the chambers a strange confusion of mixed sounds; but articulating, distinct, and intelligible, two words only; namely, *Protest* and *Prorogation.*

Alnagero, to whose ears, it is true, these sounds never conveyed music, intreated, "that his Highness would not revive those obsolete and invidious topics, but leave them to the chances of time and discussion of posterity!" For, to bear the testimony

of justice to Alnagero, we must confess, that he was not amongst those to whom right and wrong were indifferent. For, if it were possible to unite public principles with great private emolument, it was ever his wish to bear them company. He besought the governor, " to proceed on the business which at that time so properly engaged their wisdom—not the *death* or *disgrace*, but the *revival* of the great assembly of the people." Amongst the several difficulties which Sancho had encountered in his government, no one was *to his feelings* so great, as that of suppressing the extravagant laughter which the gravity of Alnagero's discourse had now excited in him. As soon as he had discharged from his countenance somewhat of his untimely merriment, he apologized (according to his fashion) to the prime advocate for interruptions he had occasioned; but assured him, " that nothing could be farther from his wish than any renewal of debate on those ridiculous topics; and that if the Cortes when they assemble should say nothing to him on the subject of them, he should, on his part, observe the same constitutional delicacy and silence. That, indeed, *protest* and *prorogation*, were only the names he had given to two favourite *Catalonian Beagles*, which had lately been sent to him from his estates in that province. That though he had always the greatest pleasure in listening to the speeches of Alnagero, yet, as he felt an invincible desire of shewing those beagles to the baron Goreanelli (who was not only a *judge* but a *sportsman*, accomplished alike for the *cabinet* and the *field*), he very ardently wished that the prime advocate should postpone the remainder of his most *excellent* speech (for excellent he was sure it would have been, had he spoken it) to another opportunity; and therefore, in his canine zeal he certainly had, in a manner rather abrupt than otherwise, called upon the Scythian Cunningambo, *licentiate in medicine*, and superintendent of his dogs, his mules, and his children, to introduce the beagles into the council chamber, just at the time in which *he* began the very eloquent speech, in which he had the honour to interrupt him.

Alnagero at first *doubted* of the *decorum* of Sancho in this transaction; and well remembering from the record of history, that a tyrant, who *laughed at decency and despised the people*, did once confer magistracy on his horse; he began to entertain a jealous

apprehension, lest some *monstrous* promotion might be intended for those dogs of Catalonia; and therefore with great humility observed, "that it was a duty incidental to the high legal trust with which he was invested, to inform his Highness; that, though it might in general be very proper that those who contributed to the pleasures of government should hold the highest condition in the state, yet he must offer it as his opinion, that no person of the human species, or otherwise, can be appointed of the Board of Council, without a previous order for that purpose, under the monarch's *manual signature*. And that he apprehended the present King of Spain, notwithstanding his great condescension *in this particular*, had not *yet* appointed any *quadruped* of his cabinet, within the circuit of his whole dominions; though it was well known, the Princess Dowager of Naples, his mother, was *partial* to a Caledonian goat; and the admirable princess, his consort, had *almost an affection* for a beautiful zebra.

Sancho, who was *playing with his cheek* during this harangue, when it was concluded, winked at the Italian nobleman, and called again aloud for *the beagles;* at the same time directing the Chevalier Buticartny to issue forthwith the letters of convention, and hasten the licentiate with the *whelps of Catalonia*.

Goreanelli, not insensible to glory, was flattered. Bumperoso laughed heartily, as he was wont on such occasions. Don Antonio did not observe the joke. Don Alnagero was distressed, and looked lively. Don Philip the Moor looked dismal, but *felt* not the least concern. And as for Don Godfredo Lilly, he was entirely employed in speculation on the *probable* disgust of Alnagero, which might open a door to his own promotion; whilst the whelps were introduced by the doctor into the chamber of consultation.

When the assembly was dissolved, various were the inferences which the several members drew from the whole transaction, respecting the dogs of Catalonia. In this, however, they entertained *in general* a similarity of sentiment,—"That as *each* of them (Antonio excepted) saw that the joke of Sancho was exceedingly pleasant, so far as it concerned the *rest* of the conclave—yet, when he measured it by the relation, in which it stood towards *himself*, he discovered in this *general* jocularity, some want of *especial* respect."

And here let us not be accused by the supercilious wisdom of unalterable gravity, for having degraded the solemnity of record by the relation of occurrences, light and frivolous! But where the frivolous have *empire*, their annals will be levity. And indeed nothing is *low*, if it be *natural;* nor is any thing unobservable to the historian, that tends to unfold or explain the *character of man.* Here the deepest political experiment was decided; though consultation was despised—though the counsel was not given—though the speeches were yet unspoken. But the Viceroy in the chambers *of gravity at least*, exhibited his beagles to the justiciary of the land.

Don Alexandro Cuningambo del Tweedalero, Licentiate in Medicine, withdrew the beagles of Catalonia from the chamber of consultation; and the business of the day was ended. Sancho having dispatched all these weighty concerns in the space of one morning, thought the evening his own, and dedicated it accordingly to festivity and pleasure. He flew to the fandango of Rafarmo; where the wonted jocularity of Francisco del Bumperoso descended from the *slumber* of Loftonzo, and the bright refinement of the lovely Dorothea threw a pious shade over the unpolished confidence of her aunt, the Countess.

What the mysteries of the evening or the reflections of the morning were, it is not within the province of history to relate. But certain it is, they all departed, satisfied with their repast; and either the love, the gratitude, or the artifice of Sancho, in the return for so great compliances, appointed apartments, even in Vice-royal Palace, for the reception of the Countess and the lovely Monroso, wherein to adjust and reconcile the violences of travel, whensoever Dorothea should be led forth from the fields, to grace the carousals of the king of the island.

The convention of the states being now a matter decided, Sancho was again to play off the whole artillery of seduction. The virtuous were displaced. The timorous were threatened. The public-spirited were ridiculed. The simple had promises. The corrupt were bribed. The credulous were betrayed; and all were to be undone. * And indeed, the *subordinate* instruments employed in this great negotiation were so curious, as that some

* Proceedings, such as these, were not confined solely to Lord Townshend's Government.

of them at least deserve commemoration in these records. At that time fortune had shipwrecked on her native land, the old lady, Donna Lavinia Del St. Legero; and so extravagant were the essays of corruption in those days, that policy condescended to *retain* even this absolute instrument of seduction. However capable in general of those powers of *procuring*, incidental to her sex and condition, yet that she should be competent to procure suffrages in the Cortes, seemed a matter, indeed, of improbable conjecture! But the result frequently disappoints the speculation.

Donna Lavinia was indeed a very extraordinary person to have figured on the stage of politics. She was the child of middling condition, and had received her education amidst the ferocity of Baratarian Bœotia. She had been given in marriage by her parents to the Chevalier St. Legero, a judge; who from the intermixture of the Spaniards with the Moors, had an opportunity of enriching his nature (though by a spurious stream) with the blood of the great Muli Ishmael, and the sanguinary exploits of his judicature were confirmations of his illustrious original. Thus it happened, that the *clemency* of the husband, and the *chastity* of the wife, became the symbols of proverbial description. Donna Lavinia managed her qualifications with notable dexterity. In her youth, without beauty, she had *lovers*—and in her age, without rank or reputation, she enjoyed the society of *the great*. A certain *warmth* and *constitutional cordiality*, was the charm of her early days—the most *indulgent accommodation* recommended her riper years, and there was one circumstance which rendered her society for ever easy; which was, "that the example of her youth never overawed the most licentious into reserve, and the compliances of her age made her kind to the frailties of her friends." She had not even the rigours of hypocrisy—but had a heart to pity, and a house to receive, the *pining votaries of love*. She did not possess any thing like address or courtly manners; but there was a certain stateliness about her, that might have been the growth of ancient fashion, and at some times a familiarity, that was to resemble the condescension of high rank and quality. If she was no longer the *object*, she was glad to be the *instrument*, of pleasure. And on her bosom every friend and every foe might confidently repose

the secret infirmities of unresisting nature. Not that she was possessed of any supernatural fidelity, or felt the glow of friendship in her sympathies. But she gave her own life and conversation as hostages for her secrecy. And moreover, to strengthen this security; though she had no great regard to moral obligation, she always affected the greatest respect for all manner of decorum; insomuch, that to whatever she said or did, she assumed a motive of decency. If at any time, it has happened to her to have dwelt too long on the goblet, and protracted the banquet beyond convivial moderation; "she was thereto compelled by medical counsel; merely to combat by that severe regimen, some inward malady, or bodily disease!" If, peradventure, she has at any time flown, with *critical precipitation*, from her most private apartments, and left them to the sole occupancy of two friends, whose only difference was their sex, at one of those dangerous moments, in which love grows too powerful for discretion, and female imbecility *not unwillingly* confesses the athletic superiority of man,—if ever she has done so, "she was either forced away by sudden occasions and indispensable business—or she entertained so great a disapprobation of those tendernesses, which malice may call criminal, that she would not afford them the countenance of her presence, but had withdrawn to leave them a silent reproach."

However, certain it is, that Donna Lavinia, in Madrid, for many years maintained a palace, not only of ease, but of order. Her public demeanour was seemly, and she always attended public worship, to pray for the King and the Royal Family; for which act of devotion, Ferdinand the Third (being a very pious prince—resembling his royal predecessor, Philip the First, in his piety—his conjugal fidelity—his principles of government—his troubles and his catastrophe) gave her a pension of five hundred crowns on the Exchequer of Barataria; which liberality she repaid by the only recompense the *chastity* of Ferdinand afforded her—by the most religious resignation to the divine will of the Sovereign.

Donna Lavinia had a brother and a nephew, who were Senators of Barataria. The father was *age and infirmity*. The son was *filial obedience*. To the former then, her brother, she applied with all her powers of seduction. She had not, it is true,

the *personal charms* of the daughter of Lot, but she had the same powers of intoxication.

Three days and three nights did the sparkling goblet, recommended by the participation of Lavinia, visit the lips of Don Richardo, her brother, and so long did he refuse the suit of her solicitation. The fourth day came, and found Richardo still within the empire of wine! Lavinia, being Regent, then entered into an alliance even with the virtues of Richardo against himself. She bade him "to serve his sister, by doubling her pension. She bade him serve his posterity, by placing the royal standard in the hands of his grandson. For these things, and greater, were determinable by the conduct of Don Richardo and his son in the assembly of the people."

Richardo yielded. The old Senator and his son were led into captivity. The promises were unperformed, and the excellent young man shortly after paid the forfeit of his life, to the seductions of a parent.

XIV.

NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENT.

The following are some of the declarations referred to at p. 364.

We, the gentlemen, clergy, and inhabitants of the county of Meath, whose names are hereunto subscribed, observing with concern the distress experienced by persons of every rank in this kingdom, but particularly by the manufacturers, on whose employment and prosperity depend in a great measure the value of our lands and the sufficiency of our revenues, and considering it is a duty we owe to ourselves and our fellow-subjects to do every thing within the extent of our ability, not only to alleviate this distress at present, but to prevent it in future, have entered into the following resolutions, as the best means to attain this desirable end.

Resolved therefore, That we, our families, and those whom we can influence, will, from this day, make use of the manufactures of this kingdom only.

Resolved, That we consider ourselves as solemnly engaged to adhere to the above resolution, as long as the traders and manufacturers of this kingdom approve themselves by their conduct worthy of liberal encouragement from the public.

Resolved, That we will not buy any articles whatsoever from any person or persons in Dublin, or elsewhere, who shall, after the date of these resolutions, be known to purchase on his own behalf, or dispose on account of others, or of any goods which are not manufactured in this kingdom; as we consider those who oppose or evade regulations, which have been so generally approved of as the only method to relieve thousands of their fellow-subjects from extreme poverty and misery, as enemies equally to their country and humanity.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to William Grattan, Esq., our present high sheriff, for his ready compliance with the requisition of our representatives to convene the gentlemen and inhabitants of this county.

Proposals for supplying one thousand inhabitants of the county of Meath with arms and accoutrements, will be received by George Lowther, Esq., at Killrue.

(Signed) W. GRATTAN, Sheriff.

MEETING held at the County Court-house at Kilmainham, Tuesday the 3rd of May.

The Report from a Committee appointed to consider of a plan for forming volunteer companies in the county of Dublin was agreed to, with several alterations, and ordered to be printed and dispersed through the different baronies of this county.

The following paper was also agreed to, and subscribed by the undernamed gentlemen.

"We, the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Dublin, sensible of the present public distress, which has extended itself through every part of the Kingdom, and has been felt by all ranks of men, think it incumbent upon us

to assist the spirited endeavours of the other parts of this country; and have come to the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That it is now necessary to give every possible encouragement to our own manufactures.

Resolved, That we and our families will consume no manufactures but those of this kingdom.

Resolved, That the above resolutions do bind until a change in our commercial condition enables us to depart from them.

Resolved, That copies of the said Resolutions be lodged with every person whom the baronies shall appoint their nominees for arraying the volunteer companies, and that it be an instruction to said nominees to receive the names of such persons as are willing to subscribe them; and that the said nominees, or any of them, do wait on the principal gentlemen in their respective baronies with said Resolutions, or transmit them in writing: and that the names of those who shall have signed should be returned by the nominees, and posted up in the county Court-house on the first day of the next quarter-sessions.

Luke Gardiner, High Sheriff,
Edward Newenham,
Lodge Morres,
Richard Talbot,
Henry Grattan,
Patrick King,
George Ribton,
John A. Johnson,
James Napper Tandy,
Robert Willcocks,
James Ormsby,
Thomas Collins,
Rupert Barber,
W. C. Dowley Hearn,
Henry Clarke,
J. Verschoyle,
John White,
John Trail,
Lod. Henry,
Nathaniel Warren,
Benjamin Wills,
Edward Hunt,
James Horan,
W. Worthington,
H. T. Worthington,
William Toole,
Pat. M'Laughlin,
James Towers,
John Rose,
Samuel Reid,
John West,
Francis Lodge,
David Harborne,
John Booth,
Wm. Williams,

John Phepoe,	John Binns,
Richard Jones, Jun.,	Daniel Dempsy,
Francis Spring,	Peter Burtchell."

MEETING of the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of Dublin, Thursday the 29th day of July, 1779.

Resolved, That it is necessary at this crisis, to put this county in a state of defence.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that volunteer companies be raised in the county of Dublin.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be appointed a committee to consider of a plan for carrying that object into execution.

For the Barony of

Upper Cross,	John White, Esq.
Nether Cross,	Sir Hen. Cavendish, Bart.
Newcastle,	Joseph Deane, Esq.
Balrothery,	Richard Talbot, Esq.
Rathdowne,	Sir J. Allen Johnson, Bart.
Castlenock,	Luke Gardiner, Esq.
Coolock,	Henry Grattan, Esq.
St. Sepulchre's,	Nathaniel Warren, Esq.
Donore,	James Horan, Esq.

That it be an instruction to the committee to report their opinion to a General Meeting, which shall be held at the court-house of Kilmainham, on Tuesday next, at twelve o'clock.

To Luke Gardiner, Esq.; High Sheriff of the County of Dublin.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, Freeholders of the County of Dublin, considering the distressed situation of the manufacturers of this kingdom, owing to the impolitic restrictions on our trade, request your appointing a meeting of the freeholders at large, to take into consideration the necessity of a non-importation and non-con-

sumption agreements, until such times as the said restrictions are removed. July the 29th, 1779.

Henry Grattan,
Richard Talbot,
Benjamin Wills
Patrick King,
John White,
John Phepoe,
John A. Johnson,
John Trail,
Nathaniel Warren,
James Towers,
M. Nowlan,
Rupert Barber,
Henry Clarke,
Emor North,
F. Graham,
William Beckford,
F. Spring,
Arthur Guinness,
James Tandy,
Thomas Collin,
Michael Woods,
George Johnston,
James Napper Tandy.

GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of the above request, I desire your attendance at the court-house at Kilmainham, on Tuesday next, at twelve o'clock, to take that measure into consideration, after the report from the committee shall have been received.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your very obedient,
And very humble servant,
LUKE GARDINER.

Kilmainham,
July 29th, 1779.

Meeting of the Drogheda Association at the Tholsel, the 30th July, 1779.

Hugh Montgomery Lyons, Esq., Mayor, in the Chair.

Several respectable Roman Catholic clergymen, inhabitants of the said town, attended, offered their assistance, and expressed their sentiments (signed by them) in the following words:—

"We, the Roman Catholics undersigned, inhabitants of

the county of the town of Drogheda, firmly attached to his Majesty as subjects, and to the Civil Government of these kingdoms, are ready at this critical time (or any time it may be necessary) to risk our lives and properties in defence of the peace of this kingdom against all enemies whatsoever; and we now, at a meeting of the inhabitants of Drogheda, summoned for the purpose of forming an association, tender the same in the fullest and most sincere manner. July 30th, 1779."

Signed by forty-seven Roman Catholic gentlemen.

Whereupon it was unanimously resolved, that the thanks of this association should be given, and they are hereby given in the fullest manner to the said Roman Catholic gentlemen; and the gentlemen of the association also assure them, that they have the utmost confidence and most firm reliance on that zeal which they so laudably express for His Majesty's person and government; a zeal at this critical time particularly acceptable, and which redounds so highly to their honour.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY STEWART AND MURRAY, OLD BAILEY.

ERRATUM.

Page 26. line 21. *for* 1759 *read* 1795.

13, *Great Marlborough Street*, 1839.

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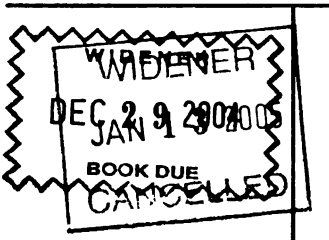

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